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TRAVELS

IN

**GEORGIA, PERSIA, ARMENIA,
ANCIENT BABYLONIA,**

&c. &c.

During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820.

BY SIR ROBERT KER PORTER.

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[This is one of the best written, and most elegant books of travels, which, for many years, has issued from the press. The countries visited are deeply instructing from numerous associations, and we have not often had travellers who have had the author's courage to explore their recesses, his ability to describe them, or his pencil to depict their most remarkable objects. He travelled too with the feeling which gratifies the reader's curiosity in regard to the most striking objects, and his descriptions are full, clear, and satisfactory. We may instance his description of the ruins of Babylon, those objects of universal sympathy, and those pictures of what time will render all cities, however great or proud. We feel that we have sufficiently trespassed on the author's rights in the length of the quotations we have made, or we could have considerably extended them to the pleasure and profit of our readers. The specimens given will, however, we trust, add to the value of our volume, and stimulate the patrons of literature to possess themselves of the entire work. This second volume completes the author's plan, and the first volume we duly noticed in a former Supplement.]

A SACRED VILLAGE IN PERSIA.

AT three o'clock in the morning of August 1st, we left the caravan-sary, and turned our cavalcade into a north-western direction through another narrow valley; bounded on each side by craggy mountains, which were traversed by the most opposite and varied strata I had ever seen. A stream, equally clear and inviting with those of the Kala-Gul-Aub, flowed by our path, which lay under groves of wild almond,
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hawthorn, and mulberry-trees, intermixed with large bushes bearing a flower resembling lavender both in appearance and smell. Notwithstanding the vernal luxuriance of such a scene, the road itself was extremely desert and bad, being a continuation of rough, loose stones the whole way from Mayan to Iman Zada Ismael, a journey of three farsangs. This latter village is considered holy ground, and not only shews a general aspect of comfortable means, but an air of civilization seldom met with on this side of Ispahan. Every individual in the place claims his descent from Mahommed; hence they are all called Saieds, or sons of the prophet. A picturesque old caravansary nearly in ruins, and a high-domed building, are its most conspicuous objects. The hospitality of the natives seems to have rendered the former useless; and the latter, which gives its name to the village, covers the holy relics of the Iman Zada Ismael. Of his particular history nothing is now remembered, but that this is his tomb; the sanctity of which would of itself hallow the ground in its vicinity; therefore this spot has a double claim to reverence, being an abode of the living descendants of the prophet as well as of the dead.

We were lodged in the house of one of the ten thousand branches of the great holy stock, where the most unexampled attention was shown to our convenience. A principal division of the mansion was cleared entirely of its usual inhabitants, and the vacated apartments, above and below, appropriated to the sole use of ourselves, our people, and our quadrupeds. Every sort of provision that the village afforded was at our command, and due attendance to prepare and serve it. We were surprised by finding the women of the place not only walking about in freedom, but completely unveiled, and mixing promiscuously in discourse or occupation with the male inhabitants; neither did they retreat from their various domestic employments on our near approach. Their features are regular, with dark
4 D complexions,

complexions, and large fine eyes; and their figures are good, with a general appearance of cleanliness, a grace not very common amongst the lower classes in Persia. The chief cause of such humble affluence and manifest content, lies in the sacred village being exempted from tribute of any kind. Neither does it furnish the customary quota of armed men, demanded on the part of government from all less holy districts, to attend the king in his wars or annual encampments; and, in addition to these privileges, the prince-governor of Shiraz pays a yearly sum of forty tomauns towards the repair and decoration of the Iman's tomb. The village is well constructed, clean, and at every point shows a flourishing condition. A large tract of garden-ground, abundantly stocked, and a corresponding space for corn in as favourable cultivation, stretch before the walls. The whole southern face of the mountain, wherever practicable, is clothed with quantities of grapes; and every little sheltered spot rendered some way profitable by these industrious people. They have not the advantage of even a single stream to assist their labours, but are obliged to transport all the water they use, from wells; which increases the toil, and lamentably circumscribes the extent of their cultivation.

THE VALE OF HEROES.

The vale of Oujon is ranked amongst the most fertile in Persia, for natural richness of pasture; and is additionally renowned, under the name of the Vale of Heroes, from having been the favourite haunt of Baharam the Fifth, surnamed the Gour, and his princely train, in hunting the wild ass. The whole valley abounds in springs, some hid under marshy ground, and others open, in the shapes of pools or streams; but it is supposed all their sources communicate at a great depth. In the course of one of his excursions, near the western extremity of the plain, the king suddenly disappeared, leaving his astonished retinue in the wildest consternation. In the heat of pursuit, Baharam, who was much a-head of his followers, had dashed into a deep still pool of water, and, together with his horse, was instantly swallowed up. But what remains a wonder until this day, though immediate search was made for his body, not the smallest trace of either himself, or the animal that perished with him, was ever to be found. Sir John Malcolm, in mentioning this circumstance,

corroborates its probability, by recounting the melancholy catastrophe of a European in his own escort, who, although warned not to approach it too near, disappeared at the very spot pointed out as that fatal to the king.

The histories of this beloved monarch of the Persians, whose fame, they declare, is to "flourish with the roses of paradise, filling the whole earth with fragrance for ever!" are fraught with highly interesting facts, as well as marvellously romantic legends. Educated, by the command of his royal father, by an Arab chief, he acquired all the simplicity and hardihood of that dauntless people; adding, to their rough virtues, many which seem to belong to the most polished states of civilization alone.

During the wars between Baharam and the emperor Theodosius, many brave Persians were taken prisoners, and carried into bondage to Constantinople. When the two sovereigns ended their hostilities by a truce of a hundred years, Acacius declared to his emperor, that "vases of gold and silver were less precious ornaments of the church, in his eyes and those of God, than justice and mercy;" and therefore, selling the church plate, "he employed the money it produced (continues the historian) in the redemption of seven thousand Persian captives; supplied their wants with commiserating liberality, and dismissed them to their native country, to inform Baharam of the true spirit of that religion against whose followers he had raised his arms." The valour, clemency, and generosity of the Persian monarch, are the theme of every Persian pen; his munificence not being limited to favourites at court, nor to its mere vicinity, but extended over all his dominions, encouraging manufactures, and rewarding merit. We find it related in the *Zeenut-ul-Tuariikh*, that his liberality in this way was so unbounded, and his own style of living so rigidly simple, that his ministers thought fit to present a memorial to him, imploring his majesty to circumscribe his munificence; and, to remember, that these treasures might hereafter be necessary to support the dignity of his throne, and to maintain his power as became the greatest monarch of the East. Baharam made them this reply: "If I am not to confer benefits on my best subjects, by thus rewarding free men who render obedience to my laws, and so attaching them to my person and government; let those who framed these remonstrances, inform me, what

what better means I can employ to support this true dignity of my throne, to maintain this my undisputed power amongst the nations." The ruins of several of his hunting-lodges are still shown in the vicinity of the fatal plain.

VISIT TO ISPAHAN.

The approach to the southern side of the city is infinitely more magnificent than the entrance on the north. Amongst the first objects that struck our eyes in the present view, were the numerous nobly-constructed bridges, each carrying its long level line of thickly-ranged arches, to porch-like structures of the finest elevations; some fallen into stately ruin; others nearly entire; but all exhibiting splendid memorials of the triumphal ages of the Sefi race. These bridges, once the scenes of many a glorious cavalcade of prince and people, were now, though deserted, still unimpaired, and indeed superb prologues to tenantless palaces, and a city in ruins. All spoke of the gorgeous, populous past; but all that remained in present life, seemed lost in silence, shrinking from the increasing flame of a morning sun that burnt like mid-day. Happily, a covert path presented itself; and, after enjoying our ride beneath the cool arcades of its long mouldering cloisters, we entered the southern gate of the town, and immediately came out into one of those umbrageous avenues of trees which render the interior of Ispahan in this quarter, a very paradise. It terminated at the great bazar of Shah Abbas; the whole of which enormous length of building is vaulted above, to exclude heat, yet admit air and light. Hundreds of shops, without inhabitants, filled the sides of this epitome of a deserted mercantile world; and, having traversed their untrodden labyrinth for an extent of nearly two miles, we entered the Maidan Shah, another spacious soundless theatre of departed grandeur. The present solitude of so magnificent a place was rendered more impressive by the distinct echoing of our horses' footsteps, as we passed through its immense quadrangle to the palace that was to be our temporary abode. On entering beneath its gold and marble portico, I felt the pleasurable sensation of old acquaintanceship, if not an actual glow of something like home; for this was the very one of the Hesth Beheste, or Eight Palaces, which had been my residence during my first stay at Ispahan. The coolest, and therefore most delightful range among its splendid apartments

was prepared for us; and to add to the immediate refreshment of "fruits, flowers, and the limpid spring," we had the agreeable information that our friend, Hadgé Bachire, was the inhabitant of the suite nearest to ours. It was not now difficult to guess whence had flowed the cornucopia before us. Mutual visits were soon paid; and we had more and more reason to remember, with respect and gratefulness, the good Abyssinian of Shiraz.

THE PERSIAN CHARACTER.

The variety of character amongst these people is equally interesting and extraordinary, and that variety does not exist more in certain dissimilarities distinguishing one individual from another, than in those very dissimilarities often meeting in one man. The Persian's natural disposition is amiable, with quick parts; and on these foundations, the circumstances of climate and government have formed his character. Perhaps a stronger proof could not be given of the former trait, than that we find in their history no terrible details of sanguinary popular tumults. The page is blotted in a thousand places, with massacres done by order of a single tyrant; but never a disposition for insurrection, and wide murderous revenge, in the people *en masse*. Fonder of pleasure than ambitious of the sterner prerogatives of power, they seek their chief good in the visions of a fanciful philosophy, or the fervours of a faith which kindles the imagination with the senses. The dreams of their poets, the delights of the Anderoon, the vigour of the chase; these, with services at court, whether to the Shah, or to his princely representatives over provinces, or to their delegated authorities in towns and villages, all alike form the favourite pursuits of the Persian, from the highest khan to the lowest subject in the empire.

I have already mentioned, that the peculiar temperament of the Persian is lively, imitative, full of imagination, and of that easy nature which we in the west call "taking the world lightly;" and that hence he is prone to seek pleasures, and to enjoy them with his whole heart. Amongst these, the gaiety of his taste renders him fond of pomp and show; but his fear of attracting suspicion to his riches, prevents him exhibiting such signs in his own person, beyond an extra superb shawl, a handsomely hilted dagger, or the peculiar beauty of his kalions. The utmost magnificence of his

his house, consists in the number of apartments, and extent of the courts; of the rose-trees and little fountains in the one, and the fine carpets and nummuds in the other. But vessels of gold or silver are never seen. The dinner-trays are of painted wood; and those on which the sweetmeats and fruits appear, are of copper, thickly tinned over, looking like dirty plate. Neither gluttony nor epicurism is a vice of this nation. The lower classes also live principally upon bread, fruits, and water. The repasts of the higher consist of the simplest fare; their cookery being devoid of any ingredient to stimulate the appetite. Sherbets, of different kinds, are their usual beverage; and tea and coffee the luxuries of ceremonious meetings. In this general abstinence from what is usually styled the pleasures of the table, we find a nearer resemblance to the manly frugality of ancient Persis, or Iran, (which the admirable institutions of the first Cyrus extended from that people to the less temperate Medes,) than to the manners which prevailed even in so short a time as a century after, under the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

From the earliest times, the breeding of fine horses has been a passion in the East; and in no country more than Persia, where, indeed, a man and his horse are seen in such constant companionship, that custom has in a manner identified them with each other, and hence the most beautiful steeds are never brought in proof of any extraordinary riches; a Persian being well mounted, though the clothes on his back may not be worth half a toman. Their mules, too, are a stately, useful race. I have already noticed, that horse-racing is not pursued here as with us, to produce a certain prodigious swiftness in a short given time; but to exercise the limbs of the travelling or courier-horse, to go over a considerable number of miles in one day, or more, at an unusual rate, without slackening his pace, or suffering by the exertion. The fleetness of a Persian horse in the chase, is equal to that of any country; but his exquisite management in the military sports of the girid, &c. cannot be equalled on any other field. In these exercises we see something of the latent fire of the chivalric *Shah Sevund*, breaking forth in their descendants, and lambently playing on the point of their lances. The dexterity of the evolutions, the grace of their motions, and the knighthood-gallantry of

their address, unite in giving an inexpressible charm to these scenes. But it does not end there. This *gaieté de cœur*, and courtesy of manner, pervading every class, renders the society of the higher ranks particularly amiable; and communication with the lower, free of any rudeness. Nay, indeed, the humblest peasant, from the old man to the boy, expresses himself with a degree of civility only to be expected from education and refinement. Quick in seeing, or apprehending occasions of service, high and low seem to bend themselves gracefully to whatever task their superiors may assign; besides talent seems to contend with inclination, in accomplishing its fulfilment. In short, this pliant, polished steel of character, so different from the sturdy nature and stubborn uses of the iron sons of the north, fit the Persians to be at once a great, a happy, and a peaceable people, under a legitimate and well-ordered monarchy.

THE GUEBRES.

The modern Persian Guebres, as well as their brethren in India, hold a mixed creed, apparently borrowed from both states of the Mithratic worship. It comprises a belief in one supreme God, who directs all things by his power, and preserves all things by his mercy; and that he makes his will known to man by seven divine intelligences, or agents, each of whom has his especial office in the economy of the universe. Man is the peculiar care of the first in dignity; the second presides over the animals of the earth; the third over the earth itself, the fourth over fire; the fifth over the waters; the sixth has every kind of plant and vegetation in charge; and the seventh preserves all nature from whatever might defile it. Subordinate to these super-eminent deities, are an infinity of minor gods who attend mankind, administering to their necessities, or governing their passions. The Guebre faith also admits a malign spirit with his demons, who busy themselves in thwarting the benevolent purposes of the seven protectors; but, likewise believing that the power of goodness is always stronger than that of evil, prayers, and a firm dependance on Ormuzd and his heavenly agents, are deemed fully sufficient talismans against all the powers of darkness. To this end, the pious have particular days in every month, dedicated to the adoration of the Supreme Deity, on whom they call in the presence of his sacred emblem, their secretly cherished fire; which, they continue to affirm, is the

the purest, and therefore most proper type of the divinity. But how far their general doctrine accords with that of the ancient magi, may in some measure be judged, by reading the books of their faith, said to have been compiled from the oral records of the Dustoors, or priests of the Guebres, several ages after the Mahomedan destruction of the sacred parchments at Persepolis. Doubtless, in these documents, some part of the original Mithratic system may be traced; but much more is to be found of the polytheistical innovations which degraded the once spiritualized religion of Persia, into the grossness of general idolatry. Of the *Zendavesta*, and *Boundehesh*, two of these books, we have translations by Mons. Aquitel du Perron; and, besides, are in possession of two, also deemed ancient, the *Dabistan* and *Dcsatir*, lately discovered in India; and both of which that great orientalist, Sir William Jones, considers to be genuine works, and unexceptionable authority. From these, we find a decided belief in an all-powerful and supreme God, whom they considered the first object of adoration; then follows the host of heaven, commonly known under the names of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. These seven intelligences of the ancient magi, together with their attendant spirits, agree with the seven divine agents and their satellites of the modern *Parsæ* and *Guebre*. In the *Dabistan*, the peculiar symbol under which each planet was to be worshipped, is described; the whole bearing a striking similarity to many of the idols of the Hindoos, the hieroglyphics of Egypt, and to the cylinders of Ninevah and Babylon. A coincidence that bears out the idea of idolatry having originated in the East, and that ancient Assyria was indeed the parent of pagan worship.

PERSIAN FRUIT.

The variegated floors of our rooms were nearly covered with heaps of the finest apples, pears, and every sort of melons; besides the most beautiful grapes I ever beheld; all piled up in high pyramids, and glowing with the rich colours and various bloom of fruit, whose delicious freshness was more grateful to the eye, than a palace's most usual gorgeous furniture. The fragrance and beauty of flowers mingled with nature's sweet banquet round us; but, when we partook of its luxuries, our European palates found most of them too luscious for our colder tastes; the

grapes, in particular, though possessing many different flavours, were invariably too cloying for refreshment. The fruit of highest zest, is a small red plum, in shape like our green-gage, with something of the same taste, but much more exquisite; and this was our favourite dessert. At this time of the year, the country around Ispahan teems with fruit of every description, allowing the lower orders to purchase a load of the common sort for a few pieces of copper money. In consequence of this plenty, and the fondness of the people for so light and cooling a food, it is rather devoured than eaten, and in such immoderate quantities, that the effects on their bowels carries off whole families, and even districts, as if swept by the plague.

ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY.

Gilpaigon is the provincial capital of a khan, who governs the small district from which it takes its name. The town itself is supposed to contain about two thousand persons. Nearly a couple of farsangs before we reached this little rural metropolis, we found the road divide itself; one branch leading to the village of Gobikaw, the regular halting-place, in the way to Hamadan, and the other to the town which we had chosen for our menzil. Gobikaw, with two other villages of less dimensions, but promising equal refreshment, from the number of trees which mingled their gay green with the rustic dwellings, spread themselves along the base of the same line of hills which cover the town of Gilpaigon, and seemed quite in as good condition. The impression this sight, with its accompanying cultivation, made on my mind as I approached, can hardly be conceived by an European who has never wandered from happy Christendom: so beyond imagination is the difference, between the populousness and aspect of countries, which own such different governments as those of Asia and Europe. Here, in the East, with regard to population and its habitations, this vast tract of country, (once the very well-spring of emigration to all nations of the earth,) appears like the dry bed of some former great river; where the depth, and the space, evidence the mighty flood by which it might have been filled; and a few pools of stagnant water, dotting the marshy surface, remain vestiges that such an element really did fill it. No man can enter Persia, without remembering he is about to tread a land which a long line of

of native princes covered with cities, and towns, and fertility; a country, which even its Grecian conquerors embellished with the noblest structures, and Roman invaders adorned with bridges, aqueducts, and castles. But of all these towns, villages, and structures, the erections of so many different ages and generations of men, few remain of any kind that are not sunk in ruin, or furrowed with decay. Where were once cities, and hamlets, and cultivated fields, are now vast solitudes; without house, or hut, or tree, or blade of grass, for many, many miles. Indeed, so frequent are these monotonous tracts, dreary to the eye, and dismal to the heart, that the glimpse of a mouldering wall, round some long-abandoned village seen from afar; or a distant view of the broken massive arches of a lonely caravansary, surrendered to the wild animals of the waste; being memorials that human footsteps once were there, are sights of welcome to the cheerless traveller, way-wearied by such unvaried scenes of desert-solitariness. Besides such really melancholy sources of the *ennui* which so often accompanies the European through these burning tracts, is the unchanging serenity of the sky. Day after day, nay, month after month passes, and not a film is seen on its dazzling surface; not a cloud, even light as the thinnest vapour, varies the towering summits of the mountains by its fleecy shroud, nor tinges the vale beneath with its flitting shadow. In vain we look here for those sweet concealments of nature, which at times hide her beauties in a veil; or those sublime mysteries, which give infinitude to grandeur, by the occasional darkness in which she envelops it. At no season of the year, in this southern part of Persia, can we see the storm gathering in the heavens; nor the thirsty earth opening its bosom to receive the milder shower, pouring abundance and beauty in its bland refreshment. In fact, I have not seen a single drop of rain since the morning of my quitting Teheran; and dew seems equally interdicted. I have often thought, while pausing through this waveless sea of shadeless heat, that if those of my countrymen who indulge themselves in murmurs against our cloudy, humid climate, were only to be transplanted hither for one summer-journey, they might find a parallel example to the unhappy lover of riches, who obtained the object of his passion to so grievous an extent, that whatever

he touched became gold; for, wherever they go here, they would meet dryness, and cloudless, fervent sunshine.

AGRICULTURE OF THE PEASANTRY.

Travelling onward, we found bands of peasants engaged in the different rural occupations of the season; some separating the grain from the straw, others cutting down the corn that had been left standing, but performing the business with a sickle so far unlike ours, as to be scarcely bended in the blade. The threshing operation is managed by a machine, composed of a large square frame of wood, which contains two wooden cylinders placed parallel to each other, and which have a turning motion. They are stuck full of spikes, with sharp square points, but not all of a length. These rollers have the appearance of the barrels in an organ, and their projections, when brought in contact with the corn, break the stalk, and disengage the ear. They are put in motion by a couple of cows, or oxen, yoked to the frame, and guided by a man sitting on the plank that covers the frame which contains the cylinders. He drives this agricultural equipage in a circle, round any great accumulation of just-gathered harvest, keeping at a certain distance from the verge of the heap; close to which a second peasant stands, holding a long-handled twenty-pronged fork, shaped like the spread sticks of a fan; and with which he throws the unbound sheaves forward to meet the rotary motion of the machine. He has a shovel also ready, with which he removes to a considerable distance the corn that has already passed the wheel. Other men are on the spot, with the like implement, which they fill with the broken material, and throw it aloft in the air, where the wind blows away the chaff, and the grain falls to the ground. The latter process is repeated till the corn is completely winnowed from its refuse, when it is gathered up, carried home, and deposited for use in large earthen jars. The straw also is preserved with care, being the sole winter food of the horses and mules. But while I looked on, at this patriarchal style of husbandry, and at the strong yet docile animal which, for so many ages, had been the right hand of man in his business of tilling and reaping the ground, I could not but revere the beneficent law which pronounced, "muzzle not the ox when he treads out the corn."

HAMADAN, THE ANCIENT ECBATANA.
I had not expected to see Ecbatana as Alexander

Alexander found it; neither in the superb ruin in which Timour had left it; but, almost unconsciously to myself, some indistinct ideas of what it had been, floated before me; and, when I actually beheld its remains, it was with the appalled shock of seeing a prostrate dead body, where I had anticipated a living man, though drooping to decay. Orontes, indeed, was there, magnificent and hoary headed; the funeral monument of the poor corse beneath. Having, for a few moments, gazed at the venerable mountain, and on the sad vacuum at its base; what had been Ecbatana, being now shrunk to comparative nothingness; I turned my eye on the still busy scene of life, which occupied the adjacent country; the extensive plain of Hamadan, and its widely extending hills. On our right, the receding vale was varied, at short distances, with numberless castellated villages rising from amidst groves of the noblest trees; while the great plain itself, stretched northward and eastward to such far remoteness, that its mountain boundaries appeared like clouds upon the horizon. This whole tract seemed one carpet of luxuriant verdure, studded with hamlets, and watered by beautiful rivulets. On the south-west, Orontes, or Elwund, (by which ever name we may designate this most towering division of the mountain,) presents itself, in all the stupendous grandeur of its fame and form. Near to its base, appear the dark-coloured dwellings of Hamadan, crowded thickly on each other; while the gardens of the inhabitants, with their connecting orchards and woods, fringe the entire slope of that part of the mountain. Its higher regions exhibit every variety of picturesque forms, and indigenous vegetable production, whether in scent or hue; while from its rocky crest the brightness of the risen sun was reflected, mingling its rays with the brilliantly clear springs which wind in rills amongst its upland paths; or roll, in accumulated streams, down upon the plain below, inviting, and assisting the hand of industry.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century it received its final blow under the arms of Timour, the Tartar, who sacked, pillaged, and destroyed its proudest buildings, ruined the inhabitants, and reduced the whole, from being one of the most extensive cities of the East, to hardly a farsang in length and breadth. In that dismantled and dismembered state, though dwindled down

to a mere clay-built suburb of what it was, it possessed iron gates, till within these fifty years; when Aga Mahomed Khan, not satisfied with the depth of so great a capital's degradation, ordered every remain of past consequence to be totally destroyed. His commands were obeyed to a tittle. The mud alleys, which now occupy the site of ancient streets or squares, are narrow, interrupted by large holes, or hollows, in the way, and heaps of the fallen crumbled walls of deserted dwellings. A miserable bazar or two are passed through in traversing the town; and large lonely spots are met with, marked by broken low mounds over older ruins; with here and there a few poplars, or willow trees, shadowing the border of a dirty stream, abandoned to the meanest uses; which, probably, flowed pellucid and admired, when these places were gardens, and the grass-grown heap, some stately dwelling of Ecbatana. In one or two spots I observed square platforms, composed of large stones; the faces of many of which were chiselled all over into the finest arabesque fretwork, whilst others had, in addition, long inscriptions in the Arabic character. They had evidently been tombstones of the inhabitants, during the caliph rule in Persia. But when we compare relics of the seventh century, with the deep antiquity of the heaped ruins on which they lie, these monumental remains seem but the register of yesterday. For what purpose, or when they were disturbed from their original destination, and arranged in their present order, are subjects of no easy conjecture. The only thing that appears for some years to have kept the place in any degree of notice with the modern Persians, is the manufacture of a superior sort of leather; but the very article of traffic proclaims the low order of population to which it has been abandoned; and as I passed through the wretched, hovelled streets, and saw the once lofty city of Astyages, shrunk like a shrivelled gourd, the contemplation of such a spectacle called forth more saddening reflections than any that had been awakened in me on any former ground of departed greatness. In some I had seen mouldering pomp, or sublime desolation; in this, every object spoke of neglect, and hopeless poverty. Not majesty in stately ruin, pining to final dissolution on the spot where it was first blasted; but beggary, seated on the place which kings had occupied, squalid in rags, and stupid with misery. It was

was impossible to look on it and not exclaim, "Oh! Ecbatana, seat of princes! How is the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!" Some attempts are indeed making, to dislodge the fiend of waste and wretchedness from this once noble city. Within these twelve months it has been created a royal government, and committed to the care of Mahmoud Ali Mirza, a son of the Shah's. In consequence of this appointment, plans are now laying, to raise it to a more equal rank with other provincial capitals. Palaces for his royal highness, and mansions for his ministers, are erecting in the most desirable situations; and new bazars, with mercantile caravansaries, have had more than their foundations laid.

At present it does not number more than nine thousand houses; one-third of which do not increase the revenue to the crown, three thousand of them being inhabited by persons in the employment of the state, who are therefore not included in the taxation of the town. The population is calculated at between forty and forty-five thousand souls; amongst whom are about six hundred Jewish families, and nearly the same number of Armenians.

TOMB OF ESTHER.

The Jewish part of the inhabitants with whom I conversed, shook their heads at the history of the Judean tomb on the mountain, but entered with a solemn interest into the questions I put to them, respecting the sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai; the dome roof of which rises over the low, dun habitations of the poor remnant of Israel, still lingering in the land of their captivity. This tomb is regarded by all the Jews who yet exist in the empire, as a place of particular sanctity; and pilgrimages are still made to it at certain seasons of the year, in the same spirit of holy penitence with which in former times they turned their eyes towards Jerusalem. Being desirous of visiting a place, which Christians cannot view without reverence, I sent to request that favour of the priest under whose care it is preserved. He came to me immediately on my message, and seemed pleased with the respect manifested towards the ancient people of his nation, in the manner with which I asked to be admitted to their shrine.

I accompanied the priest through the town, over much ruin and rubbish, to an enclosed piece of ground, rather more elevated than any in its immediate vi-

cinity. In the centre was the Jewish tomb; a square building of brick, of a mosque-like form, with a rather elongated dome at the top. The whole seems in a very decaying state; falling fast to the mouldered condition of some wall-fragments around, which, in former times, had been connected with, and extended the consequence of the sacred enclosure. The door that admitted us into the tomb, is in the ancient sepulchral fashion of the country, very small; consisting of a single stone of great thickness, and turning on its own pivots from one side. Its key is always in possession of the head of the Jews, resident at Hamadan; and, doubtless, has been so preserved, from the time of the holy pair's interment, when the grateful sons of the captivity, whose lives they had rescued from universal massacre, first erected a monument over the remains of their benefactors, and obeyed the ordinance of gratitude in making the anniversary of their preservation, a lasting memorial of Heaven's mercy, and the just faith of Esther and Mordecai.

The original structure, it is said, was destroyed at the sacking of the place by Timour; and soon after that catastrophe, when the country became a little settled, the present unobtrusive building was raised on the original spot. Certain devout Jews of the city stood to the expense; and about a hundred and fifty years ago, (nearly five hundred after its re-erection,) it was fully repaired by a rabbi of the name of Ismael.

On passing through the little portal, which we did in an almost doubled position, we entered a small arched chamber, in which are seen the graves of several rabbis; probably, one may cover the remains of the pious Ismael; and, not unlikely, the others may contain the bodies of the first re-builders after the sacrilegious destruction by Timour. Having "trod lightly by their graves," a second door of such very confined dimensions presented itself at the end of this vestibule, we were constrained to enter it on our hands and knees, and then standing up, we found ourselves in a larger chamber, to which appertained the dome. Immediately under its concave, stand two sarcophagi, made of a very dark wood, carved with great intricacy of pattern, and richness of twisted ornament, with a line of inscription in Hebrew, running round the upper ledge of each. Many other inscriptions, in the same language, are cut on

on the walls; while one of the oldest antiquity, engraved on a slab of white marble, is let into the wall itself. The priest assured me, it had been rescued from the ruins of the first edifice, at its demolition by the Tartars; and, with the sarcophagi themselves, was preserved on the same consecrated spot.

Hebrew Inscription of a Marble Slab in the Sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai.

"Mordecai, beloved and honoured by a king, was great and good. His garments were as those of a sovereign. Ahasuerus covered him with this rich dress, and also placed a golden chain around his neck. The city of Susa rejoiced at his honours, and his high fortune became the glory of the Jews."

The inscription which encompasses the sarcophagus of Mordecai, is to this effect:

"It is said by David, preserve me, O God! I am now in thy presence. I have cried at the gate of Heaven, that thou art my God; and what goodness I have received came from thee, O Lord!

Those whose bodies are now beneath in this earth, when animated by thy mercy, were great; and whatever happiness was bestowed upon them in this world, came from thee, O God!

Their grief and sufferings were many, at the first; but they became happy, because they always called upon thy holy name in their miseries. Thou liftedst me up, and I became powerful. Thine enemies sought to destroy me, in the early times of my life; but the shadow of thy hand was upon me, and covered me, as a tent, from their wicked purposes!—*Mordecai.*"

The following is a translation of the inscription carved round the sarcophagus of Esther, the queen.

"I praise thee, O God, that thou hast created me! I know that my sins merit punishment, yet I hope for mercy at thy hands; for whenever I call upon thee, thou art with me; thy holy presence secures me from all evil.

My heart is at ease, and my fear of thee increases. My life became, through thy goodness, at the last full of peace.

O God! do not shut my soul out from thy divine presence! Those whom thou lovest, never feel the torments of hell. Lead me, O merciful Father, to the life of life; that I may be filled with the heavenly fruits of paradise!—*Esther.*"

KANDAVAR.

Kandavar, the ancient *Koyraçâp*, reduced to a village, maintains something

of prolonged existence, by preserving a name so near in sound to its venerable appellation of antiquity, and shewing a few human habitations, still mingling with the ruins of the past. The village consists of about three hundred houses, most of which occupy the lofty eminence, so long celebrated as having been the site of a superb temple of Diana. That the great goddess of Ephesus would find a host of worshippers in Persia, besides its conquerors who built the temple, is very probable; since the Diana of the Greeks was the same supposed intelligence whom the Sabian corrupters of the Mithratic faith deified under the name Astarté, queen of Heaven. The spot on which the temple stood, commands the whole vale, and, doubtless, was originally surrounded by a citadel.

As soon as I had settled my people in their quarters, I took Sedak Beg with me; and, accompanied by our host as a guide, set forth to minutely examine the ruins. The greatest part of the site of the ancient edifice is totally concealed from observation, by the modern houses, and hovels, built of its materials, and over its former platform. Some of these habitations, from the inequalities of their situations, are evidently erected on earth-covered heaps of the fallen temple, and others are crushed in between broken fragments of the causeway-like walls; but enough of the fine stone foundations are every where discernible to enable an investigating eye to trace the original form of the building. It must have been quadrangular, and each face measures three hundred yards. The front, to the westward, is the most perfect; there, a considerable part of the wall rises above the accumulated rubbish at its base; the thickness of the fabric, towards its foundation, appearing not less than thirty feet; a structure, certainly, to stand the shock of time. I could not compass the elevation exactly, but I should deem it to be nearly twenty feet. It is built of large stones cut in regular proportions; and, not far from the edge of this magnificent wall, runs a beautifully executed cornice, which, formerly, at a foot's height above it, sustained a noble colonnade, each column being distant from each other ten feet. The pedestals of eight, are still surmounted by the chief part of their shafts, in good preservation. The southern front stood almost on the very verge of a nearly perpendicular ascent, which is now entirely covered with broken

broken columns, and other vestiges of the most classic architecture; besides the quantities which have rolled down the steep in huge masses upon the plain beneath; indicating by their forms, that they are the fragments of what must have been a very majestic portico. To the eastward, is a continued line of solid foundation wall-work, as well as innumerable piles of broken pedestals, capitals, &c. Our guide told me, that not longer than twelve months ago, an almost entire column stood erect in this quarter, but the inhabitants of the village thought they had occasion for it, and, tumbling it down, carried away parts of the broken shaft to apply to their own purposes.

The material of which these relics are composed, is a hard marble, of a blueish tint, elegantly marked with white veins. The style appears to have been of the most majestic simplicity, no traces of ornamented friezes, or any other laboured involvement of decoration, being to be found any where.

ROCKY PLATFORM OF BE-SITOON.

This huge mass of crags, which rises so stupendously over our present quarters, from the spot where I stood to view its ancient chiselling, presents a nearly perpendicular face of fifteen hundred feet. The lower part of it (at Heaven knows how distant a time,) has been smoothed to a height of one hundred feet, and to a breadth of a hundred and fifty; beneath which projects a rocky terrace of great solidity, embracing the same extent from end to end, of the smoothed cliff above, and sloping gradually in a shelving direction to the level of the ground below. Its base, to some way up, is faced with large hewn stones; and vast numbers of the same, some in a finished and others in a progressive state, lie scattered about in every direction, evidently intended to build up, and complete the front perpendicularly to its higher level. The observations I made on the several elevated terraces on the smoothed mountain-base at Persepolis, lead me to think, that this unfinished projection from the rock was begun, not as a foundation for a palace, (which is the idea of the natives, and that Khosroo Purviz erected it for his beloved Shirene,) but as a platform for a temple; it being too circumscribed for the variously diverging apartments of the one, but amply sufficient for the usual space allotted to the other. And, besides, I should deem it of a date far anterior to the Sassanian monarch.

Amongst these evident materials for building some great structure, it is said that no remnants of a columnar shape have ever been found; and a peculiarity so singular, in a country where the finest architectural fragments of the sort are seen on almost every spot reputed to have been an ancient site, might, probably, suggest to the natives the distinguishing name of Be-Sitooon "without pillars."

About fifty yards from this rocky platform, more towards the bridge, and at the foot of the mountain, bursts a beautifully clear stream. Just over its fountain-head, on a broad protruding mass of the rock, the remains of an immense piece of sculpture are still visible, but so lamentably defaced, that it is almost impossible to make out any one continued outline. The whole has been contained in an enormously extensive frame-work excavation, within which many now shapeless projections are seen; but, by close attention, parts of the rude forms of several colossal figures may be traced. The most apparent, are seven in a range, which have formerly stood out from the rock in something more than bas-relief, and their bearded visages are tolerably distinct; but all that is observable, shews that the work has been done by the very coarsest chisel. The principal cause of the general mutilation of this specimen of remote antiquity, must have arisen from subsequent additions, without reference to it, having been made on the same spot. First, a large and deep tablet has been excavated in the very middle of the sculpture, for the purpose of containing a Greek inscription; and, secondly, a few years ago, this was almost entirely obliterated by another in the modern character of the country, relating to some royal grants for the road.

The neighbourhood of fountains seems to have been a favourite spot with the ancients, for places of seclusion, or commemorating erections, whether they were temples, or monuments of any kind; and the situation of this stream, so immediately under the great mutilated bas-relief on the rock, could not fail recalling to my recollection a similar spring that gushes over the sloping cliff which sustains the mysterious tablets of Gunj Namhal, in the bosom of Orontes. Mr. Macdonald Kinnier, in his valuable Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, makes an interesting notice of this fountain of the bas-relief, in remarking on the sculpture itself. On the

the authority of Diodorus Siculus, he seems inclined to attribute the gigantic remains over the spring, to so distant a time as that of Semiramis; and, accordingly, he observes, "I shall confine myself to a few remarks which occurred to me whilst contemplating those wonderful monuments of antiquity. We are informed by Diodorus Siculus, that Semiramis, in her march to Ecbatana, encamped near a mountain called Bagistan, in Media, where she made a garden twelve furlongs in compass, in a plain champaign country, watered by a great fountain. Mount Bagistan was dedicated to Jupiter, (the Ormuzd of the East,) and towards one side of the garden, it had steep rocks, seventeen furlongs in height. She cut out a piece of the lower part of the rock, and caused her image to be carved upon it, and a hundred of her guard, that were lance-teers, standing round her. She wrote, likewise, in Assyrian letters on the rock, that Semiramis ascended from the plain to the top of the mountain, by laying the packs and fardles of the beasts that followed her, one upon another. This account (continues Mr. Macdonald Kinnier) will be found to answer the description of Be-Sitoun in many particulars.

VALLEY OF KERMANSHAH.

The fertility of this extensive valley is truly beautiful in its whole stretch from the city of Kermanshah, to the town of Senna, the capital of Ardelan, the most southern district of Courdistan; and on the opposite direction, to the junction of the rivers Mori and Kara-sou, whose ample streams, with the addition of many others of less note, water this delicious garden. Such natural luxuriance could not fail, from the earliest ages, attracting the sovereigns of the country to fix a palace of temporary rest at least, in so charming a spot; and hence no doubt need subsist of its real claim to the reputation of having been the occasional abode of all the princes to which tradition gives it a pretension. The extent of the Assyrian, and Persian dominions, during different eras; and the almost constant progress of their sovereigns from one province to another, may well account for the numerous palaces and gardens, said to be built and planted by them, at what, to us, may appear such unreasonably short distances.

The present annual produce of this valley, in grain of various kinds, is scarcely to be credited; while its neigh-

bouring fertile vales under the same prince-governor, must raise his revenue to the largest amount of any delegated authority in the kingdom. The calamity of famine, which a few years ago desolated the other provinces, never touched this; and the number of its population was consequently much increased during that great national affliction. Whole families emigrated from the vicinities of Ispahan, Kashan, Koom, and other places, to find an asylum here from starvation. The distress was so dreadful in many parts of the country, that mothers sold their grown-up daughters for a few mauns of wheat, to feed their younger children perishing for want. The abundance of every necessary of life in this vale, may be imagined, when I mention that my own party consists of ten persons, twelve horses, with mules in proportion; and it does not cost me more than three reals per day, (about two shillings and sixpence,) to subsist the whole. Meat, butter, eggs, milk, bread, corn, straw, all were included in this trifling sum. The greatest part of the inhabitants are Courds, somewhat tamed down from their wandering mountain-habits, to become settlers in villages, and to till a land which amply rewards them. Yet, as I intimated on my arrival, they are not so thoroughly weaned from their primitive ways, but that they gladly embrace every fair excuse for getting under their black canvass, even at no greater distance from their kishlock, or walled cluster of cottages, than a few hundred yards.

Their dress differs more in hue than in shape from that of the ordinary Persian; as we generally find that the common people in every country, paying more regard to climate and convenience than to any change of mode, wear much the same sort of apparel through every age. Instead of the black skin cap of the Persian, the Courd has one of a whitish felt, pointed at the top, but varying in height. It has flaps falling over the ears, to shelter them from the mountain-cold. In winter, or in those keen higher regions, an additional garment is worn, called a kadack; its form is that of a short jacket, and its fabric and colour the same with the cap. They seldom move without a heavy pear-headed stiek in their hands, and frequently are armed besides with a trusty well-handled sword. Whether they live in villages or towns, their hearts yearn after all that belongs to the open field; the boldest spirits, for the foray and the spoil;

spoil; and those who do not object the prey without the chase, gladly embrace whatever plunder fortune may throw into their hands.

The fair sex of the Courdish race are generally of a pale mahogany hue, with very fine features; the nose usually aquiline, with eyes bright indeed as the antelope's, and the whole countenance expressive of frank and amiable dispositions. The men have nothing of that suspicion regarding their women which distinguish the Turks and Persians; hence their wives and daughters walk abroad in the security of innocence, without the great veil or chadre. Their only appendage which at all resembles such a covering, is a handkerchief hanging loose from the back of the head, which at will they can pull quite over the face, or allow it merely to shade the cheek. Their persons are enveloped in a long blue garment shaped like a shift, and opening low down the bosom, where it is partially closed with loops fastened to buttons, usually formed of pieces of money; an ornament which they affect in profusion. Their ears, too, are decorated with large silver rings, running through strings of the same. In the cottages, or at the tent doors, these women appear without restraint; and are as ready as any peasant girl in England to pay to a stranger the usual simple duties of hospitality. Modest when maidens, and chaste as wives, in every respect they cultivate those vigorous habits in themselves, which produce an athletic race of children and set them a fearless example. "Our boys are to be soldiers, (say they,) and they must learn to bear, and to dare every thing. We shew them the way."

MAHMOUD ALI MIRZA.

The fact of the Shah having nominated Abbas Mirza to be his successor, rather than Mahmoud Ali Mirza, the elder brother, is well known to every country in Europe at all interested in the affairs of this kingdom. The reason assigned for the preference, is simply the different circumstances of their birth; the mother of the declared heir, having been one of the legal queens of the king, and also a daughter of the Kadjur or royal tribe; whereas the mother of the Prince of Kermanshab, was only a concubine slave. But from what has already passed, we must see that the seymetar is likely to be called upon hereafter, to write in blood the will of Futteh Ali Shah. On the day for naming the successor, all the royal brothers,

with the ministers and great khans, were present; and when the king presented Abbas Mirza to them as their sovereign, every soul bowed the head of submission, excepting Mahmoud Ali Mirza; and he told his royal father, that while he lived he would acknowledge no other sovereign than himself; then laying his hand on his sword, he added sternly, "after that, this shall decide who is to be king of Persia."

The intrepidity of such frankness marks the character of this prince. He is proud, ambitious, daring, and invincibly brave; but he is despotic and severe, rather holding the affections of those about him by awe, than attachment. His military talents have been tried on more than one occasion, in conflicts with the troops of the Pasha of Bagdad; the results of which have shewn his powers for negociation and political intrigue, by the advantages to himself which he always derived from these differences. He has now fixed a tribute on the Pasha, and maintains a sovereign influence over all the considerable chiefs of that part of Courdistan which appertains to the pashalick. The boldness and command of such a character is very striking; and we see in it iron qualities, well adapted to the government of so wild a country as the most part of southern Persia; power to use, or to hold in check, those predatory and turbulent spirits which obey no law but the sword. But these, perhaps essential dispositions to control an almost determinately barbarous people, would crush the growing progress of civilization in the northern part of the empire; which requires the bland influence of gentleness, goodness, liberality, and bravery wedded to mercy, to foster that country into what it promises. And between two such opposite characters as these I have just sketched, the contest will lie. The power of Mahmoud Ali Mirza, whenever he chooses to exert it, may be considered formidable, from the extent and nature of the country under his jurisdiction. It embraces almost the whole of the Louristan mountains, even so far to the south-east as where they nearly touch the head of the Persian Gulf; and, bending round in the line of the Ziloon hills, it includes the province of Khuzistan; whence it runs north-west by Mount Zagros, till bounded by the province of Ardelan; a part of Courdistan, under the rule of the Waly of Senna. Hamadan touches it on the north-east. And thus it may be said to hold within its influence two of the most

most ancient capitals of the Persian empire; Ecbatana of the Medes, and Susa of Elam, or Susiana. Besides, from the numerous rivers which flow through the extensive valleys of these numerous districts, this may be esteemed the most productive government in the kingdom; fruitful in every aliment of life, and abundant in life itself, by producing multitudes of warlike tribes, Courdish, Bactiari, Fieily, &c. who are by turns, husbandmen, soldiers, or robbers. In the hands of such a prince as Mahmoud Ali, these are formidable resources.

ENTERS IRAK ARABI.

Kanakee is said to be a place of considerable antiquity. It may, indeed, be called a little town; its extent occupying, to a considerable length, both sides of the river, which is here pretty broad, flowing south-west, with a handsome bridge crossing its stream. Delightful gardens surround the town; and there, for the first time, I beheld the date-tree, with other treasures of the vegetable world indigenous to Arabia. We are now, in fact, entered on the extensive regions of Irak Arabi; one of the most interesting portions of the globe, and which was also one of the most fruitful. It is so called by the Persians, in distinction from Irak Ajem; the wide division of their empire to the north-east of the far-stretching Zagros; and even the short distance we had travelled within its boundary, presented a material difference both in the character of the country, and the aspect of its inhabitants. I have already mentioned the variation in its produce; and the people shewed as little similarity to the Persians, as liking to their persons. Jealousy of too near neighbourhood, and detestation of their contrary creeds, may, perhaps, account for the Sooneh natives of Irak Arabi, treating the Sheah subjects of the Great King, with the same absence of respect that the common order of Turks bestow on Christian Europeans, whenever they dare shew such contempt with impunity. It may not be irrelevant to mention here, that the Sooneh faith is that which considers Omar or Othman, to have been the legitimate immediate successor in the caliphate, or head of the Mahomedan church, to the prophet himself; and this is the creed of the Turks or Ottomans; while the Sheah looks upon Omar to have been a usurper of the sacred throne; having wrested it from Ali, the son-in-law, and first disciple of the prophet, and whose attested right to

the supremacy was sealed with his own blood and that of his son Hossein. The Persians are of this faith, but tolerant to those of a different opinion; while their adversaries denounce on them, the most unequivocal condemnation.

But to return to the beautiful banks of the Diala, and their inhabitants. The dress of these people, a mixture of Courdish, Arabian, and Turkish: consisting of large flattened turbans, long white trowsers, and wide ample-sleeved kaftans bound round the waist with a piece of linen, or silk of various colours, in which they stick a large crooked knife. Such were the persons who appeared from the town, but we did not then enter it, rather taking up our quarters in an excellent khaun: the most spacious, indeed, I had seen on either side of the Zagros. Close to it flowed a clear stream; the usual object of our idolatry, after one of these hot and dusty rides.

PESTILENTIAL WINDS.

Oct. 9.—My people were still too ill to-day to give any signs of speedy amendment; and in order to while away my anxiety in this untoward detention, I sent for the master of the khaun, to make some enquiries respecting the country and its inhabitants. He told me, that they consider October the first month of their autumn, and feel it delightfully cool in comparison with July, August, and September; for that, during forty days of the two first-named summer months, the hot wind blows from the desert, and its effects are often destructive. Its title is very appropriate, being called the Samiell or Baude Semoon, the pestilential wind. It does not come in continued long currents, but in gusts at different intervals, each blast lasting several minutes, and passing along with the rapidity of lightning. No one dare stir from their houses while this invisible flame is sweeping over the face of the country. Previous to its approach, the atmosphere becomes thick and suffocating, and, appearing particularly dense near the horizon, gives sufficient warning of the threatened mischief. Though hostile to human life, it is so far from being prejudicial to the vegetable creation, that a continuance of the Samiell tends to ripen the fruits. I enquired what became of the cattle during such a plague, and was told they seldom were touched by it. It seems strange that their lungs should be so perfectly insensible to what seems instant destruction to the breath of man, but

but so it is, and they are regularly driven down to water at the customary times of day, even when the blasts are at the severest. The people who attend them are obliged to plaster their own faces, and other parts of the body usually exposed to the air, with a sort of muddy clay, which in general protects them from its most malignant effects. The periods of the wind's blowing are generally from noon till sun-set; they cease almost entirely during the night; and the direction of the gust is always from the north-east. When it has passed over, a sulphuric and indeed loathsome smell, like putridity, remains for a long time. The poison which occasions this smell, must be deadly; for if any unfortunate traveller, too far from shelter, meet the blast, he falls immediately; and, in a few minutes his flesh becomes almost black, while both it and his bones at once arrive at so extreme a state of corruption, that the smallest movement of the body would separate the one from the other. When we listen to these accounts, we can easily understand how the Almighty, in whose hands are all the instruments of nature, to work even the most miraculous effects, might, by this natural agent of the Samiell brought from afar, make it the brand of death by which the destroying angel wrought the destruction of the army of Sennacherib. Mine host also told me, that at the commencement of November the nights begin to be keen; and then the people remove their beds from their airy and star-lit canopies at the tops of their houses, to the chambers within; a dull, but comfortable exchange when the winter advances, the cold being frequently at an excess to freeze the surface of the water in their chamber-jars; but almost as soon as the sun rises, it turns to its liquid state again.

ARRIVES AT BAGDAD.

A stranger arriving from Irak Ajem, into this renowned capital of Irak Arabi, cannot fail being instantly struck with the marked difference between the people before him, and those he left north of the mountains. There, the vesture was simple and close, though long, with a plain-hilted knife stuck in the girdle, and the head of the wearer covered with a dark cap of sheep-skin. Here, the outer garment is ample and flowing, the turban high and superbly folded, and the costly shawl round the waist additionally ornamented with a richly embossed dagger. With personages in

every variety of this gorgeous costume, I saw the streets of Bagdad filled on my entrance. Monstrous turbans of all hues, pelisses, and vests, of silk, satins, and cloths, in red, blue, green, yellow, of every shade and fabric, clothed the motley groupes who appeared every where; some slowly moving along the streets, others seated cross-legged on the ground, or mounted on benches by the way-side, sipping their coffee, and occasionally inhaling a more soporific vapour from their gilded pipes, with an air of solemnity not to be anticipated from such a tulip-garbed fraternity. The contrasted appearance of the gaily coloured and gloomily pompous Turk, when compared with the parsimoniously clad Persian, sombre in appearance even to the black-dye of his beard, yet accompanied with the most lively and loquacious activity of body and mind, amused me much; and in traversing these characteristic paths, I could not but recollect I was now in the far-famed city of the Caliphs, the capital of Haroun-al-Raschid, through whose remote avenues he and his faithful vizier used to wander by night, in disguise, to study the characters of his subjects, and to reign with justice.

The outward fashion of the houses bore an aspect new to me in the East. They are built in different stories, with window openings thickly latticed; which style giving them an European appearance, I felt a kind of welcoming old-acquaintanceship in looking at them; that, perhaps, made me prefer their height before the low Asiatic dwellings I had left in Persia. In proceeding to Mr. Rich's house, the point whither we were moving, we crossed through part of the great bazar. It was crowded with people, and displayed every kind of Asiatic commodity for traffic. Numberless coffee-houses, intermingled with shops, were arranged on each side; all of which were well-stored with silent and smoking guests, seated in rows like so many painted automatons. There was a rustling sound of slippered feet, and silken garments, and a low monotonous hum from so numerous a hive; but nothing like the brisk, abrupt movements, and clamorous noises of a Persian assemblage of the same sort. Yet, as all present were not of the taciturn nation; Jews, Armenians, and even some of the great king's subjects, mingling in the exchange of commerce; at times the swell of human voices augmented a little; but take it in general, had the

the mysterious crier who called the enchanted merchandise of the fairy *Parabonoo*, then appeared amongst them, his sonorous proclamation would have been audibly heard over the usually low murmuring sounds from the company at large.

The city of Bagdad (now to be regarded as the capital of Assyria and Babylonia!) is the residence of the Pasha; and, according to the character of the man who fills that station, proceeds a temporary independence of the pashalick, or its continued subjection to the Sublime Porte. Being so distant from the seat of the Ottoman empire, the sovereign can seldom stretch his hands so far, as to have any substantial control over his delegate; and, when either Persia or the Arabs chuse to annoy the pashalick, its defence is usually left to the ways and means of the deputed governor.

Dowd (David) the present pasha, who holds the mace of deputed dignity over this far-eastern boundary of the Ottoman power, like many of the Moslem princes, was originally a slave. He is a native of Tiflis, and was sold when very young, with several companions in captivity, to one of his predecessors, in the rank he now holds. His scarcely formed Christian faith, easily changed to the profession of Mahometanism; and, as he grew towards manhood, he became one of the Georgian guards attendant on the person of the Pasha of Bagdad. This was a step to future trust and honours, to which his address and talents introduced him; and when his master met his melancholy fate, the accomplished Georgian found sufficient influence with the divan to get himself nominated his successor.

A day or two after my arrival at the residence of Mr. Rich, he accompanied me to the palace, where I was to be presented in due form to this almost independent viceroy. The state he assumed was perfectly that of a sovereign prince. In himself, his manners were pleasing, his person rather handsome, with an intelligent and particularly urbane countenance. On his learning that I had passed through Georgia in my way to his capital, the feelings of nature took place of princely ceremonies in his heart. He questioned me repeatedly on the present state of the country; on its hope of lasting tranquillity, and consequent welfare; and as repeatedly expressed his great pleasure in the answers I made, which described

the prosperity and comfort it enjoys under the Russian government. He then told me, that his father, mother, and brothers, lived in Tiflis; and asked, "if he were to write to the Russian governor of Georgia, recommending his family to that illustrious person's especial protection, did I think it would be attended to?" I said, "Doubtless; the heart of General Yarmoloff was too good, not to be ready, of itself, to dispense kindness; but I was sure he would be particularly delighted in any opportunity of redoubling his attentions to the pasha's family; and, above all, gratified at receiving a letter from so distinguished a prince." All epistolary communication between the great of these countries being accompanied by a present, his highness proposed to me, sending a particularly fine shawl to the Russian general; but, in consideration of his intended correspondent being a celebrated military character, I took the liberty to recommend a sword. On this suggestion, the pasha commanded, that several of the best should be brought before him; out of which, at his request, I chose what I esteemed the most valuable, and that was one of little exterior ornament, but with a blade well adapted to a soldier's hand. Its temper and beauty could not be exceeded in any country. Our entertainment in the saloon of this Turkish chief, differed in some respects from the like hospitable ceremonies in the courts of Persia. Soon after taking our seats, which he did on our entrance, and opposite to the pasha, small portions of sweetmeats were presented to us on the end of a gold spoon; which was replenished from a golden saucer, held by an attendant in one hand, while he thus appeared to feed us with the other. That over, silken towels were spread on our knees, and coffee served. These napkins were then changed for muslin, finely embroidered; and sherbert, in costly little cups, given us to drink. This light regale being finished, our right hands received from a silver ewer, a profuse ablution of rose-water, which his highness set us the example of bestowing plentifully on the beard and mustachios. In order to accomplish our perfect fragrance, a kind of censer, filled with all sorts of aromatic gums, was held by another attendant for a few seconds near our chins; the exquisite exhalations of which were carefully wafted by our hands over our faces, till the perfume, uniting itself with the essence of rose, insinuated

insinuated its delightful odours through all the rough appendages of our unshaven visages. Here was the actual ceremony performed upon us, after eating, which I have described as sculptured on the walls of the banqueting chamber in the palace of Persepolis. There a group of persons are seen, "one, holding a sort of censer, evidently intended for burning perfumes, while in the other hand he carries a vessel resembling a pail; probably to contain the aromatic gums. The man who follows him, bears a little bottle set in the palm of his right hand, and in the left he holds a piece of linen or towel:" we cannot doubt that all this apparatus was to perform the cleansing rite we had just gone through. The saloon in which we were received, exhibited no gaudy variety of ornament; and those in attendance, both in demeanour and apparel, were in unison with its cleanliness and simple furniture. Most of these persons, for they were numerous, appeared to be Georgians; a regular garde de corps, amounting to several hundred well-looking young men of acknowledged bravery and talent, having been the long-established household battalion of the pashas of Bagdad. It is from this body that their favourite ministers are usually chosen; and too often the ambitious servant manifests his gratitude to his master, by engaging in intrigues to displace him from his authority, or to remove him to a better world; that he may, for a brief while, seat himself on the same slippery chair of state!

THE TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES.

The Tigris varies as much in the rapidity, as in the depth of its stream, both being governed by the periodical waters that rush from the mountains of Armenia, where its sources are about fifty miles north-west of the valley of Diarbeker. It flows thence, with a swiftness that gave it the ancient Persian name of *Teer* or *Tir*, the arrow, which is descriptive of its course. The average rate of its current is about seven knots an hour. Its first swell takes place in April, and is produced by the melting of the winter snows in the mountains; its second appears towards the close of October, or the beginning of November, and rises immediately after the annual rains in those high regions. But it is only during the spring torrents, that a complete inundation covers the land, and the city of Bagdad stands like a castellated island

in the midst of a boundless sea. This mighty flood does not, however, owe all its waters to the Tigris; those of the vaster Euphrates, which flow also from Armenia, having received their superabundance about the beginning of March, continue increasing in elevation till the end of April; at which period, the river being at its highest pitch, remains so until the expiration of June; and, during that time, having spread its welcome waters to meet the overflowing Tigris, both united cover the surrounding country, west, east, and south, to beyond the reach of sight. Soon after they have subsided, spots, which at this season flourish only partially, become enriched to an amazing luxuriance. Herodotus, speaking of the fertility of Babylonia, ascribes it to the influence of the river; but remarks, that it does not, like the Nile, enrich the soil by overflowing its banks; the dispersion of the waters, he adds, being produced by manual labour. Rather, we might say, held in check by that means; for, doubtless, the perfect state of the numerous canals, now in ruins, or totally lost, would regulate the diffusion more within the limits of what might be called voluntary irrigation; and when the water is very low, it has always been raised to use by machines on its banks. The Euphrates, or Phrat, is a much more magnificent stream than the Tigris, flowing in a more abundant, circuitous, and majestic course, from its sources in Armenia, through a length of channel estimated at fourteen thousand miles.

CLIMATE OF BAGDAD.

The latitude of Bagdad, from the mean observations taken by Mr. Rich and others, is $33^{\circ} 19' 40''$; and the longitude east of Greenwich, $44^{\circ} 44' 45''$. The climate, in general, has the advantage of parts of Persia, in not being variable in such violent extremes; but then its warmest months are certainly insufferable, from the abiding effects of the forty days' prevalence of the consuming samiell. At that season, the thermometer frequently mounts in the shade, from 120 to 140 degrees of heat, according to Fahrenheit. Hence it may easily be conceived that winter is the most genial season here; and the inhabitants tell me, that the air then becomes soft, and of the most delightful salubrity; particularly, they say, from the fifteenth of November to about the middle of January. At present, towards the latter end of October, while I am writing, the skirts of the "withering blast,"

blast," seem to be yet hovering over us; the heat standing at 90, and has been from that to 93, on an average, ever since my arrival. When the heat approaches ten degrees beyond this point, the inhabitants betake themselves to the refuge of certain arched apartments called the Zardaub; constructed deep in the foundations of the house, for this very purpose. From their situation they can have no windows; therefore catch their glimpse of daylight as it may glimmer through the doors from the chambers above. Thin matting supplies the place of carpets, and every precaution and method is pursued that can bring coolness to these gloomy abodes; where the chief part of the natives of Bagdad pass the whole of the sultry day, while the atmosphere without retains its more scorching fires. At sun-set, each family issues from their subterranean shelters, and ascending to the top of the house, take their evening repast beneath the arch of heaven. And under the same free canopy, "fanned by tepid airs," they spread their bedding along the variously disposed divisions of the roof; whose irregular forms are so contrived, to catch every zephyr's breath that passes. In these elevated apartments, the natives repose, until the close of October; at which time the days become comparatively cool; and sudden blasts blowing up during the night, from the north and south-east, render sleeping in the open air chilling and dangerous. Hence, at these nocturnal hours, the good people begin to nestle into the warm corners within the house; but during the day, they describe the atmosphere to be every thing that is celestial; so clear, so balmy, so inspiriting, as to yield sufficient excuse to the great monarchs of Persia for deserting the arid regions of their own kingdom at this season, to take up a temporary abode in the salubrious gardens of Amyites.

CUSTOMS IN BAGDAD.

From some sad warp in the present government, hardly a year elapses without making an apparent necessity, under the plea of apprehended scarcity and consequent tumults, for driving some hundreds of the poor inhabitants from within the walls, to seek their bread, on chance, beyond them. That such fears are not groundless, is certain; want of grain creating high prices, and high prices exciting famishing poverty to despair and revolt. Such scarcity arises from two causes. First, oppression in excessive taxation on the husbandman,

by robbing him of its fruits, paralyses his industry; and, relaxing his labours, less corn is grown, less profit is produced to the revenue; exaction then comes in the place of due payment; and the peasantry, driven to desperation, abandoning their villages, seek employment in the city. There the defalcation of grain makes itself speedily known; and the new ingress of claimants renders the want more apparent every hour. To obviate this difficulty, the summary measure is resorted to of annually banishing the most miserable of the inhabitants; to starve in the desert, to wander to the mountains; or, abiding nearer home, to league themselves with robbers, and support themselves and families by plundering and murder.

We see poverty and distress in the Christian countries of Europe; but we must come to the East to witness the one endured without pity, and the other only noticed to have fresh afflictions heaped upon it. I do not mean to say, that there are not amiable exceptions to this remark; but where charity is not a leading principle of duty, the selfishness of human nature readily turns from the painful or expensive task of sympathising with the miserable. General hospitality, and universal benevolence, arise from totally different motives; and are, often, as completely distinct in their actions. The one is bestowed on grounds of probable reciprocity of benefit; the other, when not commanded by religion, can only arise from the compassion of a disinterested heart. Hence, though we find individual instances of this species of benevolence in all countries, it is only where Christianity prevails, that care of the poor is practised as a national concern. In the midst of the scenes just described, acting within and without the walls of Bagdad, luxury grows as rankly round the rich, as in the most prosperous cities; and the expences lavished on "singing-men, and singing-women," brought from afar, are equally enormous. The ladies of Bagdad, in particular, appear to be singularly inclined to festivity; and their assemblies, like those of our own countrywomen, are generally held during the later hours of the twenty-four. They usually meet, by invitation, at the harem of some one of the wives of the chief officers of state; where due care has been taken to provide the best female dancers, singers, and musicians, that the city affords; and thither, about sun-set, the several bidden guests assemble, in

the most lovely groups of youth and beauty, attended by their serving-women bearing their *narquillies*; a sort of hooker or *kalioun*, of which even the most delicate of the fair sex in these countries are remarkably fond. Before I proceed with the details of the entertainment, it may not be amiss to stop, and describe the dresses of the ladies, in the customary style of drawing-room paraphernalia.

Women of the first consequence here go about on ordinary occasions on foot, and with scarcely any attendants; it being the etiquette to avoid, when in public, every striking distinction of appearance. In compliance with this fashion, all the fair sex of the city, high and low, walk abroad in the blue-checked *chadre*; its folding drapery having no other mark of an august wearer, than a few gold threads woven into its border. Instead of the white towel-like veil of the Persians, these ladies conceal their faces behind a much more hideous mask; a black stuff envelope of horse-hair. The liberty they possess, of paying visits without the *surveillance* of a male guard, and under these impenetrable garbs, are privileges perhaps too friendly to a licence their husbands do not intend. So much the reverse is the case with Persian women of rank, they hardly move but on horseback, and escorted always by trains of eunuchs, and other trusty vigilants.

When the fair pedestrians of Bagdad issue from behind their clouds, on entering their own apartments, or those of the ladies they go to visit, dresses are displayed in every group, of the most gorgeous magnificence; for it may easily be conceived, that rivalry with regard to personal charms, and graceful habiliments, flourishes amongst the belles of an Eastern harem, as gaily as with those of an European ball-room. The wives of the higher classes in Bagdad are usually selected from the most beautiful girls that can be obtained from Georgia and Circassia; and, to their natural charms, in like manner with their captive sisters all over the East, they add the fancied embellishments of painted complexions, hands and feet dyed with henna, and their hair and eye-brows stained with the *rang*, or prepared indigo-leaf. Chains of gold, and collars of pearls, with various ornaments of precious stones, decorate the upper part of their persons, while solid bracelets of gold, in shapes resembling serpents, clasp their wrists and ancles.

Silver and golden tissue muslins, not only form their turbans, but frequently their under-garments. In summer, the ample *pelisse* is made of the most costly shawl, and, in cold weather, lined and bordered with the choicest furs. The dress is altogether very becoming; by its easy folds, and glittering transparency, shewing a fine shape to advantage, without the immodest exposure of the open vest of the Persian ladies. The humbler females generally move abroad with faces totally unveiled, having a handkerchief rolled round their heads, from beneath which their hair hangs down over their shoulders, while another piece of linen passes under their chin, in the fashion of the Georgians. Their garment is a gown of a shift form, reaching to their ankles, open before, and of a grey colour. Their feet are completely naked. Many of the very inferior classes stain their bosoms with the figures of circles, half-moons, stars, &c. in a bluish stamp. In this barbaric embellishment, the poor damsel of Irak Arabi has one point of vanity resembling that of the ladies of Irak Ajem. The former frequently adds this frightful cadaverous hue to her lips; and, to complete the savage appearance, thrusts a ring through her right nostril, pendent with a flat button-like ornament set round with blue or red stones.

THE RUIN OF AKARKOUFF.

I lost no time in making arrangements for visiting the eminence, called that of Akarkouff. The late successes of the Arabs, having emboldened them to advance in plundering parties, even to the walls of the city, it had become dangerous to go to the smallest distance without a guard; I therefore set off on this my first expedition to explore the colossal relics of these Titan regions, with an adequate escort, besides the good company of the two gentlemen attached to Mr. Rich's mission. We crossed the bridge of the Tigris to its western shore; and again traversing that large suburb, with the still more extensive remains of old Bagdad beyond the walls, our party took a north west direction over the plain, towards the point of my present curiosity; which lay at several miles' distance. The tract of country we passed over this morning is regularly overflowed by the waters of the river; and many spots were left not yet dried up, of an expanse wide enough to be called little lakes. The soil, consequently, even under neglect, is very rich; while the endless intersecting remains

mains of the numerous canals, which, in former days, conveyed away the superfluous waters from the whole land of Shinar, show the great care of the ancient inhabitants to cultivate the ground to the utmost power of husbandry. Near to these broken embankments, rise mounds of higher elevation; marking, no doubt, the sites of the villages, once inhabited by these industrious peasantry, who wrought on those banks, and in the fields now abandoned to the desert.

The pile to which we were directing our steps, is called by the Arabs *Tell Nimrood*, and by the Turks *Nemrood Tepassé*, both of which appellations mean the *Hill*, not, as some would translate them, the *tower* of Nimrod. The term *Akarkouff*, given by the Arabs, is intended to signify the ground only around it; and the word, having no distinct meaning in the Arabic language, most probably was the name of some ancient city of the Babylonians, long ago disappeared.

On arriving at the huge pyramidal mass which appeared in the center of this tract, we found it standing upon a gently gradual elevation, ascending from the perfect level upwards of sixty yards. This apparently foundation-hill, though in fact only a collection of rubbish round the pile itself, consists of loose sandy earth, intermixed with fragments of burnt brick, pottery, and a kind of hard clay partially vitrified. I measured one of the baked bricks that was nearly entire; it formed a square of twelve inches, in thickness two and three quarters, and was of an excessively hard substance. No characters whatever were traceable on this specimen, nor on any of the fragments we saw. From the gentle elevation just described, rises an enormous solidly-built mass, crowning it like a rock, and composed entirely of sun-dried brick. Its present irregular shape, worn away by time, and furrowed by the rain of ages, leaves no possibility of doing more than conjecturing its original form. Its sides face the cardinal points. Neither mounds nor any rubbish of ancient decay, track its more distant vicinity in any direction except to the East, where, not many paces from the foot of the *Tepessé*, a couple of extensive and high heaps of ruins, composed of the same materials with those of their more gigantic neighbour, vary the perfect flat of the plain. The height of the *Tepessé*, from the summit of the gradual slope, from which the more

ponderous fabric shoots upwards, to the towering irregular top of the whole, may be about a hundred and twenty-five or thirty feet; and its circumference at the bottom of this upper structure, is three hundred feet; which huge pile, at about ten feet in a perpendicular line from its base, measures a hundred feet in the breadth of its face. From its foundation, and the whole way up to its summit, the different layers of sun-dried brick or clay, of which it is composed, may be traced with great precision. But the several courses vary so much in height, that some are twelve, others eighteen, or twenty feet; while every brick in each layer of the course is united to its neighbour by a thin lining of pure slime; no other cement whatever being visible; though each horizontal division between these courses is marked by a stratum of reeds, similar to those which at present grow all over the marshy parts of the plain. They bed every fifth or sixth layer of brick, to a thickness of two inches, lying regularly one over the other, unmixed with any other substance; and, as the adjacent part of the bricks gradually crumble away, these strata project from the surface, and are very distinguishable at a considerable distance. Their state of preservation is indeed wonderful; the only apparent difference, between them and the gathered growth of the present year, seeming to be, that these of so remote a harvest are of a darker hue. I drew a large quantity out, and found many of them two feet in length. It does not appear that in constructing these sun-dried bricks, any straw was mixed with the fabric; and in examining various fragments of burnt brick, I sought in vain for a morsel of bitumen. The whole of this curious pile seems to be solid, excepting where certain square perforations, going directly through, must intersect each other in the heart of the building, and were, probably, intended to preserve it from damp, by the constant succession of free air. There is also, on its northern face (which is nearly perpendicular,) and at a considerable elevation from the base, an opening of an oval form, rather larger than a common-sized window; but it does not penetrate farther into the pile than six or eight feet.

From the already mentioned ruins and mounds near to the *Tepessé*, some traces of a former city are certainly apparent; and the scripture account of the establishment of Nimrod in this country, gives

gives authority for seeking in it the remains of several places of that consequence, besides those of the great capital. The words are these, from Genesis, "And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar." Hence, we may find one here; and the third name in the above enumeration seems not very dissimilar to that of Akarkouff.

Immense pyramidal piles, like this of the Tepessé Nemrood, at Akarkouff, seem to be peculiar marks by which we may discover the sites, at least, of the earliest settlements of mankind; but to what different purposes they were severally applied, must, with most of them, always remain a matter of conjecture. With regard to the Tepessé, I should suppose the mass we now see to be no more than the base of some loftier superstructure, probably designed for the double use of a temple and an observatory; a style of sacred edifice common with the Chaldeans, and likely to form the principal object in every city and town devoted to the idolatry of Belus, and the worship of the stars.

THE RUINS OF BABYLON.

November 9th, 1818.—I was now fully embarked on my long-anticipated expedition; and having passed the gate of the western suburb, I looked around me on the vast extended Chaldean plain east of the Euphrates, with a delight that seemed for some minutes to send me on the wing over its whole interesting tract; ranging both sides of that mighty river, and to wherever the majesty of Babylon had flowed down its venerable stream.

According to Herodotus, the walls were sixty miles in circumference, built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, and raised round the city in the form of an exact square; hence they measured fifteen miles along each face. They were eighty-seven feet thick, and three hundred and fifty high, protected on the outside by a vast ditch lined with the same materials, and proportioned in depth and width to the elevation of the walls. They were entered by twenty-five gates on each sides, made of solid brass; and additionally strengthened by two hundred and fifty towers. Within these walls rose the multitudinous streets, palaces, and other great works of Babylon; including the temple of Belus, the hanging gardens, and all the magnificence which constituted this city the wonder of the world. A branch of

the Euphrates flowed through the city, from the north to the south; and was crossed by a strong bridge, constructed at the foundation, of large stones fastened together with lead and iron. While it was building, the course of the river was turned into a large basin, to the west of the town, which had been cut to the extent of forty square miles, and seventy-five feet deep, for a yet nobler purpose; to receive the same ample stream, while the great artificial banks were erecting of brick on each side of the bed of the river, to secure the country from its too abundant overflow. Canals were cut for this purpose also; one of these led to the immense basin already described, which, when required, disembogued the river into its capacious bosom; and always continued to receive its superflux; returning the water, when necessary, by various sluices to fructify the ground. During the three great empires of the East, no tract of the whole appears to have been so reputed for fertility and riches as the district of Babylonia; and all arising from the due management of this mighty stream. Herodotus mentions, that even when reduced to the rank of a province, it yielded a revenue to the kings of Persia that comprised half their income. And the terms in which the Scriptures describe its natural, as well as acquired, supremacy when it was the imperial city, evidence the same facts. They call it, "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldee's excellency: The Lady of Kingdoms, given to pleasure; that dwellest carelessly, and sayest in her heart, *I am, and there is none else beside me!*" But now, in the same expressive language, we may say, "She sits as a widow on the ground. There is no more a throne for thee, O daughter of the Chaldeans!" And for the abundance of the country, it has vanished as clean away, as if "the besom of desolation" had indeed swept it from north to south; the whole land, from the outskirts of Bagdad to the farthest stretch of sight, lying a melancholy waste.

The present population of this part of the country consists of a race of Arabs, called the tribe of Zobiede; but, from their situation, being much in contact with the Turks, they have lost their national character of independence, and acquired in its stead rather degrading than elevating habits. In times of tranquillity from openly declared warfare, these people and their chief are responsible

responsible to the government of the Pasha for the general security of the road from casual depredators; but under the present circumstances, when their brethren of the desert issue forth in such formidable hordes, these poor creatures dare hardly show their heads.

If I complained of want of cleanliness in the persons of the Persian lower orders, I have not terms to express the exceeding loathsomeness of the Arab *Fellah*. The skins of these people are actually ingrained with dirt; and the male children, additionally embrowned by the roasting sun, run about till thirteen or fourteen years of age, without the shadow of a garment. The mothers answer pretty well to the description I have already given of the lowest class in Bagdad. The only difference appears to be, that here their shift-like gowns are always of a coarse red flannel, open a good way down in front, buttoned at the neck, and touching the ankles and wrists; both of which extremities are usually adorned with massive silver rings. Strings of many-coloured beads hang on their tattooed necks, sometimes enriched with a silver or gold coin. A black handkerchief binds their heads, beneath which devolve their long uncombed tresses. The nose is never without its weighty ring also, which gives rather a snuffling grace to the voice of the wearer.

The men do not, like the Turks and Persians, shave their heads; but, letting their hair grow, its dark locks much increase the wild and often haggard appearance of their roughly bearded visages. They frequently are seen without other covering than the *kaffia* or cloak, formed of an extremely broad-striped stuff. This is the domestic attire, in which they are met in the vicinity of their homes; but when they go farther a-field, they put on a brown woollen tunic, girt about the middle with a stout leathern belt, armed with a short wooden club, or a long crooked dagger. Most of them carry, in addition, a scymetar, and a small round shield. The head-dress of Arab men appears the point to which they pay the most attention. It is usually of one fashion with all; being composed of a yellow and red piece of stuff, wound round the brows like a close turban, with pointed ends hanging long upon the breast. The wearer sometimes throws one of them across his chin; which piece of drapery, falling on his shoulder, conceals his neck and the whole of the

lower part of his face. From the folds round his forehead, depend two twisted braids of long black hair; which add not a little of the savage to the wily air of the lower orders of this tribe.

Nov. 10th.—We left the *khaun** of Iskanderia at half-past seven o'clock this morning. Soon after clearing the numerous low heaps of ruins and rubbish diverging from the place, we discovered the golden cupola of Mosseib, reflecting the rising sun, in a direction south 40° west. Having travelled about four miles farther, the usual traces of former buildings spread a vast way on the rest of our road; and one relic, not inferior in bulk to that of Boursa Shishara, stood very conspicuous. It was built of unburnt bricks, marked at their lines of union with no other cement than that of slime; neither reeds, nor straw, appeared outwardly; and at first I judged it to have been of more recent construction than the former pile I had ascended; but, on examining some broken pieces of the bricks, which lay thickly around, I found several bearing remnants of cuneiform inscriptions; proof sufficient of the antiquity of the materials at least. But whether the place, of which the edifice they composed had formed a part, were coeval with Babylon, or was afterwards erected out of her remains, cannot easily be determined. Yet, so extensive and numerous are the traces of former buildings on the spot, we must conclude that something like a town has existed here; and if the historical accounts are to be depended on, that the original dimensions of Babylon extended to a length and breadth of fifteen miles, the adjacent great villages, or minor towns, usually attendant on metropolitan cities, might very well reach thus far.

Mahowil lies four miles from the Hadgé's *khaun*; and is only separated from the plain more immediately connected with the remains of Babylon, by the embankments of two once noble canals, very near each other, and running almost due east and west. In the first, which we crossed by a brick bridge, we saw water. These canals seem at present to be regarded as the boundary, whence the decided vestiges of the great city commence; and we soon discovered their widely spreading tracks. In crossing the bridge, which leads to those immense tumuli of temples, palaces, and human habitations of every

* Inn or caravansery.
description;

description; now buried in shapeless heaps, and a silence profound as the grave; I could not but feel an undescrivable awe, in thus passing, as it were, into the gates of "fallen Babylon."

Between this bridge and Hillah (something more than eight miles distant), three piles of great magnitude particularly attract attention; but there are many minor objects to arrest investigation in the way. A mound of considerable elevation rose on our left as we rode along, not five hundred yards from the second embankment; its sloping sides were covered with broken bricks, and other fragments of past buildings, while the ground around its base presented a most nitrous surface. At a few hundred yards onward again, another mound projected of still greater height, and from it branched subordinate elevations in several directions. I here had a fine view of the great oblong pile, called by the Arabs Mujelibé, or rather Mukallibe, "the overturned:" an attributive term, which, however, they do not confine to this sublime wreck alone; other remains, in this immense field of ruin, bearing the same striking designation of the manner of its fall. Mujelibé bore from the elevation on which we stood, south 10° west. Having proceeded about a couple of miles from the two canal ridges near Mahowil, we advanced to another and higher embankment, of a totally different appearance from that of a water-course. It ran almost due east and west, until lost to the eye in the horizon on both sides. I rode a considerable way along its base, to examine whether there might not be some trace of a ditch, and, though I did not discover any, nor, indeed, aught that was at all answerable to our ideas of what would have been even a fragment of the vast bulwark-walls of Babylon, yet I saw no cause to doubt its being a remnant of some minor interior boundary.

The whole of our road was on a tolerably equal track; excepting where unavoidably broken by small mounds, detached pieces of canal embankments, and other indications of a place in ruins; mingled with marshy hollows in the ground, and large nitrous spots, from the deposits of accumulated rubbish. Indeed it was almost impossible to note, while their number confused our antiquarian researches, the endless ramifications of minor aqueducts, whose remains intersected the way. At about four miles in advance from the long single

embankment, or interior boundary ridge I mentioned before, we crossed a very spacious canal; beyond which, to the eastward, the plain appeared a vast uninterrupted flat.

An hour and a quarter more brought us to the north-east shore of the Euphrates, hitherto totally excluded from our view by the intervening long and varied lines of ruin, which now proclaimed to us on every side, that we were, indeed, in the midst of what had been Babylon. From the point on which we stood, to the base of Mujelibé, large masses of ancient foundations spread on our right, more resembling natural hills in appearance, than mounds covering the remains of former great and splendid edifices. To the eastward also, chains of these undulating heaps were visible, but many not higher than the generality of the canal embankments we had passed. The whole view was particularly solemn. The majestic stream of the Euphrates wandering in solitude, like a pilgrim monarch through the silent ruins of his devastated kingdom, still appeared a noble river, even under all the disadvantages of its desert-tracked course. Its banks were hoary with reeds, and the grey osier willows were yet there, on which the captives of Israel hung up their harps, and, while Jerusalem was not, refused to be comforted. But how is the rest of the scene changed since then! At that time, these broken hills were palaces; those long undulating mounds, streets; this vast solitude, filled with the busy subjects of the proud daughter of the East! Now, "wasted with misery," her habitations are not to be found; and, for herself, "the worm is spread over her!" Our road bent, from the immediate bank of the river, to the south-east; and, after crossing the bed of a very wide canal, almost close to the bank we were leaving, we entered on an open tract, on which I saw the extensive encampment of the Kiahya Bey. The town of Hillah lay a couple of miles beyond it; a long stretch of low-bulwarked wall, but enlivened by cupolas and glittering minarets, and the tops of numerous plantations of date-trees, with other green boughs from the gardens, through whose pleasant avenues we soon approached the gates of the place. On passing them, I found a house prepared for me in the suburb of the city, on the east side of the river, and not far from the bridge. I could not have had a more desirable situation, for comparative coolness and interest

interest of prospect. Our ride this day had occupied nearly nine hours, and over a space of ground about the same as the day before, namely, twenty-eight miles.

November 12th.—By the appointed hour this morning, the kiahya's officer appeared before my gate, at the head of a hundred well-armed men, some of whom were Arabs, all fairly mounted, and ready to attend me to that part of the desolated land of Shinar which lies west of the Euphrates. My immediate object was the Birs Nimrood; the tower mentioned by Neibuhr with so much regret at his having been prevented, by apprehension of the wild tribes in the desert, from closely examining its prodigious remains. But the observations he was enabled to make, however short of his wishes, were sufficient to awaken in him an idea, now ably supported by the more comprehensive investigations of the present British resident at Bagdad, that in this pile we see the very Tower of Babel, the stupendous artificial mountain erected by Nimrod in the plain of Shinar, and on which, in after-ages, Nebuchadnezzar raised the temple of Belus. It lies about six miles south-west of Hillah. On leaving the suburb on the eastern shore of the river, we crossed a bridge of thirty-six pontoons, all considerably smaller than those over the Tigris at Bagdad, and like them in a neglected state. The width of the Euphrates at this passage, is four hundred and thirty feet. On quitting the crazy timbers of the bridge, which gave terrible note of insecurity, under the tramping feet of my attendant troopers, we entered the most considerable part of the town of Hillah; and, after riding through a narrow and crowded bazar, nearly suffocated with the double evils of heat and stench, and thence proceeding along three or four close streets, at intervals opened to the fresh air by intervening heaps of ruins, we reached the western gate, called that of Tahmasia, which happily delivered us into a freer atmosphere. We left the high banks of the Tajya canal on our right, or, as it is otherwise called, the Ali Pasha trench, (cut to defend the town from the marauders of the desert,) running in a direction north-west; and rapidly over the apparently boundless plain, found the ground in general perfectly flat, and in parts very marshy. My eyes ranged on all sides, while crossing this vast barren tract, which, assuredly, had of old been covered, if

not by closely compacted streets, at least with the parks and gardens attached to distinct mansions, or divisions of this once imperial city; but all was withered and gone, and, comparatively, level to the very horizon, till the object of my expedition presented itself, standing alone in the solitary waste like the awful figure of Prophecy herself, pointing to the fulfilment of her word.

At the moment of my first seeing it, the tower bore from us south 7° west; to which point we made direct forward, hastening our speed as we approached nearer the stupendous pile. During almost the whole of our ride, I had observed numerous spots on the plain, shewing the saline encrustment usually found where buildings have formerly stood; also a long line of broken bank on our left: but here, at about five miles from Hillah, certainly commenced the first western very elevated traces of former edifices, beginning with some considerable mounds, near to the remains of an old canal, through whose bed we passed, and which stretched first southward, and then bent westward. About six hundred yards further brought us to a second canal of vaster dimensions than the preceding, being full thirty yards across, with very high embankments, broken into a succession of little hillocks. This canal took a direction to our right for nearly three-quarters of a mile, corresponding to the line of the other on our left; running first north and west, then taking a sweep gradually due south, bent again, and (according to the observation I could make by my glass, while standing on one of the hillocks,) described a line to the eastward, till it joined the narrower canal through whose channel we had recently passed. The space thus inclosed, seemed to be about two miles; forming, though in ruins, the outlines of a vast court, or area, round the sublimest monument of the past, still rearing its shattered summit towards the Heavens. On observing the range of these canals, or trenches, it struck me, that the inner bank may have been a wall; and in that case, the surrounding channel becomes a feature of exterior defence. Almost all over the ground between the base of the great pile itself and these boundaries, abundant vestiges of former building are visible; exhibiting uneven heaps of various sizes, covered with masses of broken brick, tiles, and vitrified fragments, all silently eloquent of some former signal overthrow.

On

On coming within this traceable area, I found its irregular surface thronged with the Kiahya's horsemen; while the commander himself, with the leaders of his troops, had dismounted, and were already ascended into the mount itself. This intelligence did not delight me quite so much as my informer seemed to anticipate; for these were companions in my researches I had neither expected nor desired; being well aware that the formality of court ceremonies would ill agree with the freedom of my purposed movements. I do not deny that their groups were eminently picturesque, and, from their magnificent or wildly various Asiatic costume, mingled more harmoniously with the character of this venerable wonder of the East, than the garb of a European stranger; but yet their presence was discordant to me; for, perhaps, that strange European garb covered the only breast present, which felt the solemn import of that still existing pile, up whose acclivities he was slowly ascending; and amidst whose awfully stricken summits he found the Turkish commander, quietly seated amongst his officers, smoking his pipe, while awaiting the coffee his servants were preparing in another part of the stupendous ruin! The moment I appeared before him, he rose and welcomed me; declaring, with all the pomp of oriental compliment, that, "though he had accorded me a personal guard for short excursions, he valued my life too highly to permit its being exposed to the dangers of the desert, without an escort adequate to his friendship,—himself! Of course, I duly thanked him, though in far humbler language; and, probably, therefore much nearer the level of his real motive, which, I suspect, was curiosity, rather than such superabundant zeal in my service. It is a common idea with the Turks here, that the true object with Europeans, in visiting the banks of the Euphrates, is not to explore antiquities, as we pretend, but to make a laborious pilgrimage to these almost shapeless relics of a race of unbelievers more ancient than ourselves; and to perform certain mysterious religious rites before them, which excite no small curiosity amongst the faithful, to pry into. However, nothing of this was shewn, by either my illustrious escort or any of his body-guard; and, after civilly enduring an hour's delay in my pursuits, by remaining in his company, I left him to his repose, or his

own pious ablutions; and descended the pile, to regularly commence my observations.

The present shape and dimensions of this huge mass of building, when seen from the East, appears like an oblong hill, sweeping irregularly upwards towards its western aspect, in a broad pyramidal form. It measures at the base 694 yards, (3082 feet;) at least, as nearly that, as the dilapidated state of the outline there would allow me to ascertain. On looking towards its eastern face, it extends in width 153 yards (459 feet,) and presents two stages of hill; the first shewing an elevation of about 60 feet, cloven in the middle into a deep ravine, and intersected in all directions by furrows, channelled there by the descending rains of succeeding ages. The summit of this first stage, stretches in rather a flattened sweep to the base of the second ascent, which springs out of the first in a steep and abrupt conical form, terminated at the top by a solitary standing fragment of brick-work, like the ruin of a tower. From the foundation of the whole pile, to the base of this piece of ruin, measures about 200 feet; and from the bottom of the ruin to its shattered top, are 35 feet. On the western side, the entire mass rises at once from the plain in one stupendous, though irregular pyramidal hill, broken, in the slopes of its sweeping acclivities, by the devastations of time and rougher destruction. The southern and northern fronts are particularly abrupt towards the point of the brick ruin; but in both these views we have a profile of the first stage of the Birs, which I fully described in approaching the eastern face. My advance to the northern steep was much interrupted by large masses of fine and solid brick-work, projecting from amongst the far-spreading heaps of rubbish at its base, and which had evidently been parts of the original facing of the lower ranges of the pile. I shall describe these fragments more particularly hereafter; meanwhile observing, that it is only on the northern side they occur.

The tower-like ruin on the extreme summit is a solid mass, twenty-eight feet broad, constructed of the most beautiful brick masonry, and presenting the apparent angle of some structure originally of a square shape; the remains of which stand on the east, to a height of thirty-five feet, and to the south twenty-two feet. It is rent from the top to nearly half-way to the bottom; unquestionably

tionably by some great convulsion of nature, or some even more extraordinary destructive efforts of man. The materials of the masonry are furnace-burnt bricks, of a much thinner fabric than most of those which are found east of the river, on the spot to which some writers confine the remains of Babylon. I had not explored that ground when I first visited the Birs Nimrod; but I had seen many of the Babylonian bricks at Hillah, forming the court and walls of the house I inhabited; and which had been brought from the mounds of the ancient great city, to assist in erecting the modern miserable town. The cement which holds the bricks together, that compose the ruin on the summit of the Birs, is so hard, that my most violent attempts could not separate them. Hence I failed in discovering whether these bore any inscriptive stamps on their surface; marks invariably found, where they exist at all, on the side of the bricks which faces downwards. Why they were so placed, we cannot guess; but so it is, in all the primitive remains of ancient Babylonia; but in the more modern structures of Bagdad, Hillah, and other places erected out of her spoils, these inscribed bricks are seen facing in all directions. While on the summit of the Birs, I examined many of the fine brick fragments which lay near the foot of the piece of standing wall, to see whether bitumen had been used any where in their adhesion, but I could not trace the smallest bit. The cement throughout was lime, spread in a very thin layer, not thicker than a quarter of an inch, between each brick and its neighbour; and, thin as this cement was laid, it contained a spreading of straw through the midst of it. The standing piece of ruin is perforated in ranges of square openings; through which the light and air have free passage. The latter admission may have been deemed necessary to preserve the interior of the building from the abiding influence of damp. For, that this tower-like relic is a remains of what formerly constituted a part of some interior division of the great pile itself, I shall presently attempt to shew. At the foot of this piece of wall, on its southern and western sides, besides the minor fragments I have just mentioned as having inspected in search of bitumen, lay several immense unshapen masses of similar fine brick-work; some entirely changed to a state of the hardest vitrification, and others only partially so. In many might

be traced the gradual effects of the consuming power which had produced so remarkable an appearance; exhibiting parts burnt to that variegated dark hue, seen in the vitrified matter lying about in glass manufactories; while through the whole of these awful testimonies of the fire, (whatever fire it was!) which, doubtless, hurled them from their original elevation, the regular lines of the cement are visible, and so hardened in common with the bricks, that when the masses are struck they ring like glass. On examining the base of the standing wall, contiguous to these huge transmuted substances, it is found totally free from any similar changes, in short, quite in its original state; hence I draw the conclusion, that the consuming power acted from above, and that the scattered ruin fell from some higher point than the summit of the present standing fragment. The heat of the fire which produced such amazing effects, must have burnt with the force of the strongest furnace; and from the general appearance of the cleft in the wall, and these vitrified masses, I should be inclined to attribute the catastrophe to lightning from heaven. Ruins, by the explosion of any combustible matter, would have exhibited very different appearances.

On the face of the pile itself, a little way down its northern brow, a considerable space of similar fine brick masonry is visible. The bricks here measure three inches and a quarter in thickness, by twelve inches in length. They are a pale red, and cemented, like the upper mural fragment, with lime. In this wall, also, are square apertures, running deep into the interior of the pile; and, notwithstanding that the masonry is greatly injured in places, yet, from its general smoothness and well-finished work, I cannot doubt its having formed a part of the grand casing of fine brick, which every observation on this gigantic ruin, leads us to suppose encrusted the whole structure in gradual stages. Lower down, and more to the eastward, we have another and larger vestige of this sort of wall, presenting itself in an angular form; one of its faces fronting the east. Here the work is altogether on a vaster scale; the bricks being four inches and three quarters thick, by twelve and three quarters in length; and are joined by a bed of mortar more than an inch deep. The bricks, though decidedly furnace-burnt, are of a much softer texture than those described above, and the cement is of a

coarser quality. The use of straw in the midst of the layers of lime, as seen in the upper remains, was here also every where evident; but here it was quite mouldered away, its impression alone being visible.

The space of wall, now under description, is of considerable extent, and appears to me to have actually formed part of the north-west angle of the pile in its ancient state. But what marks it as an object of particular observation is, that the courses of its bricks do not run level, but have a gentle inclination on its northern face, towards the east; and on its eastern face, they slope to the south. This singularity cannot be accounted for by ascribing it to the electric shock that may have split, and, possibly, overturned part of the superstructure; their situation in the building being too distant from that point to be affected by the means of its destruction. At some yards still lower down we came to an excavation, or rather very large and deep hole, made by the clearing away of the rubbish; and through it we plainly discerned, what I may call the pith of the building; that is, the composition of the solid body, and base of the pile; which consisted of sun-dried bricks, of the same dimensions with those from the furnace, described in the last specimen of wall, and which, like the bark of a tree, seem to have encased the whole. These interior, and, I may term them, imperishable materials, are cemented together by layers of slime and broken straw, lying full an inch and a half in thickness; and through this vast, consolidated mass, large square holes, (each two feet in height, by one in width) penetrate, apparently, to the very heart of the structure.

I have now noticed, not merely the general appearance of the Birs on all its sides, but every remaining piece of wall still perceptible, through the deep accumulations of mouldering and broken fragments, which invade the distinct lines of this ever-wonderful monument; but I have yet to remark, that, with regard to the use of bitumen, I saw no vestige of it whatever on any remnant of building on the upper ascents, and therefore drier regions. It was towards the foundations of the burnt brick-walls, lower down, and on the large fragments of brick-ruins at the base of the pile, that I first discovered any specimens; and there I found them in great quantities. These circumstances led me to suppose, that bitumen was chiefly confined by the

Chaldean builders to the foundations and lower parts of their edifices; for the purpose of preventing the ill effects of the damp and water, to which this country must always have been liable from the successive inundations of the river. The same reason accounts for the perforation in the body of the buildings; to give vent to the consequent evaporations from the moisture below. Amongst the many specimens of bitumen I picked up, were several large cakes, more than ten inches long, and three in thickness; appearing to have been the casing of some work, perhaps the lining of a water-course.

On observing Birs Nimrood from the plain, if we admit the projecting stage towards the east to have been any part of the real base of the original pile, then we must see that the tower-like remains, now forming its highest pyramidal point, do not rise over the true centre of the building. But if we subtract that projection from the base, and regard it only as a platform, or court of approach, then we have a remaining ground of elevation exactly adapted to make the present highest point that of its primary centre; and this result, the four views I have given will sufficiently shew. Indeed, the effects of the gradual mouldering of any tower, or conical structure, will always, while a vestige remains, define themselves, and, therefore, in the general outline, that of the building; which common fact, if allowed in this instance, presents the present ruin, as I would limit its base, in a form more consonant to historical details of the Temple of Belus, than if we were to suppose its foundations had been spread over the whole oblong surface.

All around its present base extends to some distance an open area, bounded by mounds, which I shall more particularly mention hereafter, having first described one that may be called of prodigious magnitude, though under the shadow of Babel itself. It is distant from the eastern front of the great pile about 270 feet; extends north and south to a breadth of 1242 feet; where those two sides take rather a triangular form, to a distance of 1935 feet, meeting, in a bend, to the eastward. The whole of its summit and sides are furrowed into endless hollows, and traversing channels, the effect of time, accident, and various sorts of violences; and all are thickly embedded with fragments of bricks, tiles, vitrifications, bitumen, &c. the remnants of superstructures now no more.

The

The only objects now seen above its desolate surface, are two small Mahomedan buildings, called Koubbés; meaning oratories, or places of prayer. The one bears the name of Makam Ibrahim Khali, the other that of Makam Saheb Zeman; but both are nearly in ruins. Standing on this super-eminent mound, as a central position, from it I made my observations on all the remains yet visible within what must have been the great encompassing quadrangle of the sacred enclosure. The great mound and the great tower occupied the interior space of the quadrangle, with a large open area stretching on all sides of them; but, on looking towards the north, where the area measured across between three and four hundred feet, at that distance I observed mounds of varied elevations in unconnected heaps, filling the ground from that line to the bank of the great canal I mentioned having passed in my approach to the Birs. Clustering ranges of these remains appear to continue, curving round to the east; then a vacuum occurs; then they commence again, running from the eastward in a similar sweeping direction along the southern front of the great mounds. Many of these latter vestiges are but very faint, yet they are sufficient to prove the existence of former structures on those spots, and the regular plan of their disposition. There are, likewise, answering chains, of apparent greater consequence, to the west, rising about 200 yards from the supreme pile; and these connect themselves with others to the north and south.

From the elevation on which I stood, I traced, without difficulty, the lines of embankment also, which had compassed the whole sacred area. The extent of their broken remains appears to agree very nearly with that mentioned by Herodotus as inclosing the ground of the temple of Belus; he describing it to be quadrangular, on each side measuring two stadia, or one thousand feet. On extending my view beyond the boundary, to the south, all seemed flat, arid desert; to the westward, the same trackless waste presented itself; but towards the north-east, very considerable marks of buried ruins were visible to a vast distance. In a direction south 50° east, I could plainly discern the golden cupola of Mesched Ali; and, on the same line of the horizon, but about 30° more to the eastward, I saw the dark summit of a very lofty mound, which I calculate to be the same men-

tioned by Mr. Rich, in his "Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon," distant many miles from their boundaries; and, to which notice, he adds the interesting circumstance, that a few years ago, a cap, or diadem, of pure gold, and some other articles of the same metal, were found there by the Khezail Arabs; but who refused to give them up to the pasha. Had they been resigned to him, and preserved, an opportunity of examining such antiquities would have been very desirable. So high a mass of ruin as the mound presented, can hardly be supposed to cover any thing less than the remains of a fortress, a palace, or one of those enormous piles consecrated to religion and astronomy, which appears to have been erected in every city of Babylonia; answering in general shape at least, as well as purpose, to the great center of Sabian worship, the Temple of Belus, in Babylon itself.

Besides the mound I have just mentioned, as that of the diadem, I saw from the height on which I continued to stand, many distant points, to which my companions gave the names of Koubbés and tombs, and added several curious traditions respecting them.

During my traversing the ruins, both of the tower and the mound, I picked up curious fragments of brick and bitumen, besides pieces of broken marble, and several thin copper coins in a very corroded state. With respect to the specimens of brick, both sun-dried and fire-burnt, there were ample quantities everywhere; giving us an idea, how very opportune the furnaces might have been, which manufactured the latter, to execute the mad judgments of either Nimrod or Nebuchadnezzar. The bricks which compose the tower, and its appending objects, are mostly stampd with three lines of inscription, in the cuneiform, or, as it is commonly called, the Babylonian character. Some extend to four, or even seven lines; but, though differing in this respect, the dimensions of all are the same; the only superiority appears in those of seven lines being better stampd than those with the fewer numbers. However, I could only draw these observations from fragments about, and I examined a great many; entire detached bricks not being now to be found on the ruin. I have already mentioned that the bricks of Babylon are of two kinds, sun-dried and fire-burnt. The former is generally largest, as it is of a coarser fabric than the latter; but its solidity seems, by proof, to be equal to the

the hardest stone. It is composed of clay mixed with chopped straw, or broken reeds, to compact it, and then dried in the sun. Here, then, besides tracing the first builders of Babel in their very executed work, "Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly!" we find the exact sort of brick which the children of Israel made, during their captivity in Egypt: "And Pharaoh commanded the task-masters, and said, ye shall no more give the people straw to make bricks, &c." These unburnt bricks commonly form the interior or mass of any strong foundation amongst these ruins; and this is the case with the great tower, while it is, or rather has been, faced with the more beautiful fabric of those manufactured in the furnace or kiln. From every account left us by historians of the supereminently stupendous structure of the Tower of Belus, we must seek it on the banks of the Euphrates, and on the site of Babylon; and of all the colossal mounds which remains amongst its far-spreading ruins, not one appears to answer so fully, in place, dimensions, and aspect, to all their pictures of the tower, whether called by the name of Babel or of Belus, as this sublime inhabitant of the desert, known universally to the present descendants of Ishmael, by the name of Birs Nimrod. The etymology of the word Birs, Mr. Rich considers difficult to trace. He observes, that it does not appear to be Arabic, though it is possible to be some term which has suffered the corruptions of time, that might originally be derived from that language, or the Chaldean. There are words in both, similar to it in sound; in the latter meaning a palace, or splendid building; in the former, a sandy desolation, or the habitation of dæmons. The Arabs, as I mentioned before, call it Birs Nimrod; but the remnant of the captivity, still abiding amongst "the waters of Babylon," when they speak of it, call it Nebuchadnezzar's prison.

HILLAH.

The town of Hillah lies in latitude $32^{\circ} 31' 18''$, in longitude $12^{\circ} 36''$ west of Bagdad; and, according to Turkish authorities, it was built in the fifth century of the Hegira, in the district of the Euphrates, which the Arabs call El-Ared Babel. Lying on a spot of the vast site of Babylon, nothing was more likely than that it should be built out of a few of the fragments of that great city. The town is pleasantly situated amidst gardens and groves of date-trees; and

spreads itself on both sides of the river, where it is connected by the miserable floating-bridge I have just described; but which, perilous as it may be, is security itself, when compared with the pass of danger at Bagdad. The portion of the town, or, as it is usually called, the suburb, on the eastern bank, consists of one principal street of bazar, reaching from the small defenceless gate, whence it is entered from Bagdad, down to the edge of the water; it is deemed the least considerable part of Hillah, being of far less dimensions in every way, than the more populous branch across the rotten timbers. There the inhabitants, Jews, Turks, and Arabs, are much thicker; the streets and bazars more numerous and abundant. From the great centre bazar, well filled with merchandize, branch off, in various crooked directions, minor ranges, among which are found the fish and flesh markets. In the former I saw several varieties; and some of enormous size, resembling the barbel. The fish in question ran from four to five feet in length, and were covered with very large thick scales. The head took up full a third of their length. I am told they eat coarse and dry, but are, nevertheless, a favourite food with the inhabitants. They are caught in great quantities near the town, and also to a considerable distance above it. The flesh-market was sparingly served with meat, the whole not appearing to be more than the dismembered carcasses of two sheep, two goats, and the red rough fragments of a buffalo. This display was but ascetic provision for a population of seven thousand persons. The streets are narrow, like those of Bagdad; a necessary evil in oriental climates, to elude the full power of the sun: but they were even more noisomely filthy; a most unnecessary annoyance any where. In like manner, also, they were crowded, but not with so many persons in gay attire. Here were groups of dark, grim-looking, half-naked Arabs, sitting idly on the sides of the streets, and so numerous, as scarcely to leave room for a single horse to pass; and even a cavalcade in line would not have alarmed them, so indifferent did they appear, when we were almost compelled, at some abrupt turn, almost to ride over them. A few sombre-garbed Israelites; and some of the Turks, attendant on official duties of the pashalic in this part of the government, also mingled occasionally in the passing, or seated crowd; where the solemn, saturnine air of the latter,

latter, with their flowing, gaudy apparel, formed a striking contrast to the daring, dirty, independent air of the almost ungarmented swarthy Arab.

OTHER RUINS OF BABYLON.

Having discussed Hillah, I shall proceed to the more interesting ground in its immediate neighbourhood, still named by the Arabs Babel; while its vast remains lay for ages in the depths of time, as much forgotten by the learned of Europe as if it had been a city of the antediluvians.

Since the days of Alexander, we find four capitals, at least, built out of her remains: Seleucia by the Greeks, Ctesiphon by the Parthians, Al Maidan by the Persians, Kufa by the Caliphs; with towns, villages, and caravansaries without number. That the fragments of one city should travel so far, to build or repair the breaches of another, on the first view of the subject, appeared unlikely to myself; but on traversing the country between the approximating shores of the two rivers, and observing all the facilities of water-carriage from one side to the other, I could no longer be incredulous of what had been told me; particularly when scarce a day passed without my seeing people digging the mounds of Babylon for bricks, which they carried to the verge of the Euphrates, and thence conveyed in boats to wherever they might be wanted. From the consequent excavations in every possible shape and direction, the regular lines of the original ruins have been so broken, that nothing but confusion is seen to exist between one course and another, when any traveller would attempt seeking a distinct plan amongst those eternally traversing minor heaps, hollows, and ravines. But certain huge and rugged masses yet stand pre-eminent; which, by their situation, and other local circumstances, seem sufficiently to warrant the conclusions which have been drawn of their original purpose. These vaster mounds are surrounded by subordinate ranges, now bearing the appearance of embankments; and which, doubtless, have been the cause of the interior pile's comparatively unimpaired state. The yearly overflowing of the whole country, from the decay of the canals, made to draw off the superflux of the river, having for ages swept unimpeded over the faces of all the ruins which had not the protection of these, I may call them, break-waters, could not fail producing the devastation we see. All such exposed parts of the city must necessarily be broken down

into wider and more shapeless ruin, and be gradually washed down into lower and lower hillocks, till, in most places, all traces would be entirely swept away. The piles which I am now going to describe have, therefore, not only been saved by their extraordinary magnitude from the over-topping of the floods, but their foundations greatly preserved, by the majestic length of these banks inclosing them nearly on all sides.

The pre-eminent mounds are three in number. First, the Amran Hill, so named by Mr. Rich in his "Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon;" and who designates it by that appellation, from its supporting a small tomb erected to the memory of some personage of that name, said to have been a son of the Caliph Ali, who fell at the battle of Hillah. There must be some mistake in this tradition; Ali having had only two sons, Hassan and Hossein. The second pile is that called the Kasr, or palace, which is separated from the preceding by a distance of only 750 yards. The third is known by the appellation Mujelibé, or Maclouba, "the overturned." It stands about a mile and a half northward from the other.

I shall begin my notice of the great ruins on this bank with a detail of the Mujelibé.

The Mujelibé stands about four miles north of Hillah, on the eastern side of the Euphrates; and, perhaps, it is only second to the Birs Nimrood in being one of the most gigantic masses of brick-formed earth that ever was raised by the labour of man. It is composed of these sun-dried materials, to the present height of 140 feet. The form, an oblong square; and, like the Birs, facing the four cardinal points. The side to the north measures along its base 552 feet; that to the south 230; that to the east 230; and that to the west 551. The summit is a broad flat, when compared with the pyramidal Birs, yet very uneven; its highest point being to the south east, where it forms an angular kind of peak, sloping gradually down, in an opposite direction, upon the broad bosom of the mound, to a depth of about 100 feet. Regular lines of clay brick-work are clearly discernible along each face; and those on the western front bear every trace of a perfectly straight wall, that appears to have cased and parapeted this side of the pile. The angle to the south-west is rounded off; but whether it thus marks the original shape

shape of the corners, or that time has worn this so, I do not pretend to say. Towards the bottom, where it meets the loose dust and scattered fragments, it has mouldered away in an inward sloping direction, giving this angle of the Mujelibé the singular effect of an appending watch-tower. The decay at the base, and the form in consequence, are obviously wrought by the casualties of weather; indeed, all the parts of this huge fabric have been terribly torn by the rain, which here seems to fall with the body and force of water-spouts; the eastern face, in particular, is worn into a deep channel, nearly from the top to the bottom. However, all these depredations of the elements, have only acted on this pile like the wrinkles on a human face, marking the advance of years, without absolutely breaking the general lineaments. The sun-dried bricks, and mode of fixing them, differ in no respect in Mujelibé, from the method I had observed in most other massy fabrics throughout the general ruins; namely, the mixture of broken straw or reeds with the mud used as cement; also the layers of perfect reeds between the horizontal courses of the bricks. In many of the other structures, the courses were of unequal heights, which these reed strata marked; but here, the straw line ran its unbroken length between the ranges of every single brick course.

From the general appearance of this piece of ruin, I scarcely think that its solid elevation has ever been much higher than it stands at present. I have no doubt of its having been a groundwork, or magnificent raised platform, (like that of Persepolis, though there it was of the native rock;) to sustain habitable buildings of consequence. The whole of the existing mass bears that affinity with those already described, as to lead us to conclude, it must have been superfiged from the base to the summit with the usual fire-burnt bricks; where lofty battlements of the same would inclose the edifices its ample area had been planned to contain. That it has been occupied by various buildings, is sufficiently proved by the fragments of such, covering the whole wide surface. Several deep excavations have been made, in different places, into the sides of the mound; some, probably, by the wearing of the seasons, according to the effects described above; but many others have been dug by the rapacity of the Turks, tearing up its bowels in search

of hidden treasure. Several penetrate very far into the body of the structure, making angular turnings; and some, it is likely, have never yet been explored, the wild beasts of the desert literally keeping guard over them. In short, these souterrains, over which the chambers of majesty may have been spread, are now the refuge of jackalls and other savage animals. The mouths of their entrances are strewn with the bones of sheep and goats; and the loathsome smell that issues from most of them is sufficient warning not to proceed into the den. However, into some of those which exhibited the fewest of these signals, I ventured to go a little way. I found the reeds in its sides as pliable and fresh as if they had been gathered yesterday. From amongst them projected a huge beam of date-tree, nearly in a state of decay. The wall on one side of this passage, as far as I went down, is formed of burnt brick intermixed with sun-dried; and evidently constructed in haste, being merely a front of mortar and casual bricks, put together without regular arrangement: from which may be concluded, that the bodies found here had not been deposited in a spot originally intended for that purpose.

In traversing the summit of the Mujelibé, I observed, on a spot about twenty feet lower than its highest point, a great portion of erect building, smooth and well finished; another similar piece of wall joined it, forming, together, an angle that seemed part of some former chamber in the solid body of the pile. Between these walls, loose fragments had either fallen in, or been cast there purposely; but confused as they were, the irregular heaps were bound together with mortar. Not far distant from this angular remains, and towards the western end, a sort of circular lump of brickwork, tapering towards the top, rises from a deep bed of rubbish. In this fragment, each stratum of mortar is four inches and a half thick, while the intermediate courses of brick are merely broken pieces, thrown together without the smallest care; but the hardness of the mass is inconceivable. From its lower extremity being so deeply buried in dust and rubbish, I could not inspect it to any depth. The whole surface of this irregular, cliff-topped ruin, is covered with the remnants of its former superstructure, but I was unable to get even one brick entire, to bring away. A stamp

stamp of seven lines, however, seemed traceable on most of the fractured pieces I took up to examine. This huge mass stands totally unconnected with any other whatever, if we may except the remains of protecting lines of wall or embankment, which, at certain distances, surround it on three of its sides, that is, to the east, north, and west. The western line now terminates near a couple of small modern canals; but there can hardly be a doubt that it originally extended to the shore of the Euphrates, whence the Mujelibé is distant little more than half a mile.

With regard to what the Mujelibé really was, my ideas are to be drawn from what I saw, when compared with certain representations I have read concerning Babylon. All ancient authors who have written on the subject, speak of its "Fortified Palace." In which title we must understand a fortified space, of sufficient extent to contain the terraced habitation of the sovereign, with his courts of pomp and ceremony, his private temples to the gods, his personal treasury, and residences for his officers of state; and, besides, strong lodgments on the embattled surrounding walls, a fortress, or citadel, to garrison the royal body-guard. The situation and style of the Mujelibé seem to mark it out to have been the citadel of this embattled palace. Not only its superior magnitude presents it as the fittest platform for military erections and exercises, but its contiguity to the river, and its commanding power of observation on all sides, proclaim it, of all others now traceable, to be that of most extensive command. Hence, to that purpose I would venture to assign its original destination; and to some period in its besieged states attribute the inhumed remains.

KASR, OR PALACE.

I shall now proceed to the description of the remains of this palace, according to the belief of all who have visited the spot, that it is found in the vast mound or hill, called by the natives that of the Kasr. This mass, after the Mujelibé, is certainly the most august on this side of the river, standing above the general level full seventy feet. Its length is nearly 800 yards, its breadth 600; but its form is now very irregular. Much of the local, which this interesting spot presented to the Abbé Beauchamp in 1782, and to Mr. Rich in 1811, has now totally disappeared; the aspect of the summit and sides suffering constant

changes from the everlasting digging in its apparently inexhaustible quarries for brick of the strongest and finest material. From these incessant depredations, the whole mass is furrowed into deep ravines, many of considerable length and width, crossing and recrossing each other in every direction; indeed, there is hardly a ridge of the mound left that does not, at intervals of ten or fifteen feet, slope into hollows of from forty to fifty feet in depth, and some even deeper. From the unbroken succession of these traders in brick, during the progress of so many ages, and the system still going on, the minor features of the place are not only altered, but the whole surface kept in so decomposed a state, that at every step we made, we sunk into dust and rubbish.

In making my own observations on the entire mound of the Kasr, through all the mutations it had undergone during the lapse of seven years, (which was the space of time between my visit and that of Mr. Rich,) I still found, deep in the ravines, considerable pieces of wall standing; also detached masses of the same, composed of furnace-burnt bricks, of a beauty, admirable masonry, and freshness, that indeed struck me with similar amazement, when I reflected that thousands of years had passed away since their insertion. It was only amongst the huge fragments lying thus low in the foundations, that I observed bitumen had been used as a cement between each course of brick: in all other parts of the structure, which appeared of sufficient height to be beyond the probable reach of water or damp, neither bitumen nor reeds could be traced; a layer of simple mortar being there the binding material. The farther I examined into the body of this immense hill of buildings, the more I was convinced of one essential difference between the manner of its construction and that of the Birs Nimrood and Mujelibé. The great stamina of their piles were vast internal courses of sun-dried brick, consolidated into huge sustaining masses, by the intervention of reeds and slime; but all that I observed throughout the heights and depths of the Kasr mound, within and without, was a magnificent material of furnace-burnt brick, with all its necessary attendant cements. On inspecting the fragments accessible to examination, I found that the face of every brick, (that is, the surface where the inscription is stamped,) was invariably placed downwards; and, where bitumen

bitumen had been used, the backs of each course so disposed, were then covered with a layer of bitumen, on which reeds were spread, or laid in regular matting; and on this careful preparation, the face of the succeeding course of bricks was bedded; which preserving management, in some measure, accounts for the astonishingly fresh state in which the inscriptions on their surfaces are generally presented. I have an exception or two in my possession; having picked up several pieces of the brick, where the characters have been totally filled up by the bitumen; an accident likely to happen, from the almost fluid state of the petroleum when first applied. Specimens of the actual reed or matting have never yet been found here, even in breaking up any of its walls; though impressions of the (now mouldered) intersecting weavings of the straw remain perfectly legible on the pitchy covering of the bricks. How faithfully do these vestiges agree with the method of building in Babylon, as described by Herodotus! He observes, that the bricks intended for the walls were formed of the clay dug from the great ditch that backed them: they were baked in large furnaces; and, in order to join them together in building, warm bitumen was used; and between each course of thirty bricks, beds of reeds were laid interwoven together. The bitumen (he continues to tell us) is drawn from certain pits in the neighbourhood of Is, a town on the Euphrates. These pits exist to this day; the town in their vicinity now bearing the name of Hit or Heet; it lies about four days' journey north-west of Bagdad, and is on the western bank of the river.

I have already stated its present dimensions; and that its whole exterior is one mass of rugged surface, and deeply caverned hollows. The piles of wall, to which the natives have more peculiarly given the name of the Kasr, or Palace, still stand in striking remnants, from sixteen to eighteen feet above the general line of the broken summit. Parts of them are so connected as to give indications of their having originally formed several square piers, or supports, rather than distinct ranges of chamber or tower walls. Their thickness, in general, measures from eight to nine feet; and their materials are so strongly cemented, that, in spite of the bricks being the hardest of any I had hitherto met with, I found they would not bear detaching from the mortar; in short, it was

nearly impossible to separate them: and to this circumstance the present masses owe their preservation. The bricks of which they are composed are of a very pale yellow; having so fresh an appearance as to strike me at first, as they did Mr. Rich, with an idea of their having been a more modern erection than the mound; but, on a minute examination, no doubt remained on my mind of their equal antiquity. After considerable labour, I succeeded in having several pieces of the brick chipped off from an immense fragment which had fallen from an adjacent mass; and, on clearing my specimens from the lower course, I plainly traced sufficient of the cuneiform characters, to discover them to be parts of inscriptions in seven lines. Each brick was placed with its written face downwards, on a layer of cement so sparing, that it did not exceed the twentieth part of an inch in thickness; appearing, where it united the two bricks, like a fine white line, subdivided by another of a reddish brown, with a granulated sparkling effect. The hardness of this mass was inconceivable; and it seemed not less wonderful that so slender a line of cement should hold so tenaciously its respective courses of such massive bricks. I was also much struck with the singular appearance of several of these buttress-like walls, standing, or rather inclining from their centre, as if shaken by some convulsion of nature: part are half torn asunder; and others seem actually pushed beyond the smooth and regular line of their original front. On examining a projecting ledge thus formed, and looking up under its protruding bricks, I plainly discerned the cuneiform inscriptions on their downward faces, thus exposed; a sufficient proof of the very ancient antiquity of the structure, notwithstanding the fresh, untarnished aspect of the materials.

Standing, as I believed myself to be, over part of the foundations of one of these venerable specimens of building, of ages so near the first fathers of mankind, it was with inexpressible regret that I found the avenues of search closed in many places which had admitted Mr. Rich to the most interesting particulars of his examination. The lower distribution of the serdaubs, dark chambers, and numerous intricate passages, have long been broken up, or impenetrably buried; and the subterraneous way, near the ravine, which our British resident has described with so much valuable precision, is now completely lost.

lost. Some persons have considered it to have been a drain; but its dimensions appear too large for such a purpose, and its situation not low enough in the foundation to have been intended to carry off any superflux of waters from the entire building: hence, I regard it as no other than one of the many passages, which, in every direction, must have traversed so comprehensive an edifice.

The Kasr mound is divided from the Amran Hill, by a space, in extent about 800 yards; which space is subdivided by a long low mound of ridges, running east and west; at the latter extremity it unites with a transverse ridge of greater altitude, and nearly 100 yards in breadth, which extends from the south-west angle of the Kasr Hill to almost the extreme north-west point of the Amran Hill. This line of mound runs parallel with the piece of embankment deserted by the river. It is not improbable that the broad summit may have originally formed a grand terraced avenue between the two divisions of the palace which occupied these opposite mountains of structure. And here it may not be irrelevant to remind my reader, that, if we are to suppose there was any affinity in the plans of ancient Eastern palaces, we must not expect to find the ruins of the palace of Babylon confined to one mound; but that its various compartments, private and ceremonial, gardens, &c. (like the remains at Persepolis, on their different stages,) would be spread over several of these venerable hills. The attendant buildings, civil and military, would stand in every direction, within the embattled walls.

The surface of the flat ground which lies between the two leading hills, is covered with long rank grass, the soil being very soft and damp. The great mass of the Amran spreads over a vaster expanse every way, than that of the Kasr; and, with the exception of the height gained by the surmounting standing wall of the latter, appears quite as high. The form of the Amran is triangular; the south-west face extending to a line of 1400 yards, the eastern to 1100, the northern to 850; the whole of which stupendous heap is broken like that of the Kasr, into deep caverned ravines, and long winding furrows. I conclude it to be exhausted of all its extractable bricks, from finding it totally abandoned by the people who dig in search of them: the whole surface now appearing to the eye nothing but a

vast irregular hill of earth, mixed with fragments of brick, pottery, vitrifications, mortar, bitumen, &c.; while the foot, at every step, sinks into the loose dust and rubbish. On the most elevated spot towards its south-western brow, stands the tomb of Amran, now inhabited by a living, as well as a dead saint; a Sheah Saied (or holy disciple of the sect of Ali) having taken up his quarters there. The good man did not seem in the least alarmed by the evil demons, which he, in common with the Arabs about, believed to haunt all the ruins; the sacred bones of the kinsman of Ali were sufficient protection. Before the western face of the hill, extends a considerable line of flat ground, bounded on its opposite side by the river's high embankment.

My object being to ascertain whether there were, or were not, any signs, however small, of former building on the western bank; and particularly in any line parallel to those I had been examining on the eastern shore, we did not, in passing through the larger suburb of Hillah, quit it by the Thamasia, or western gate, which pointed almost direct to Birs Nimrood; but left the town by the gate nearest to the river, and which gave our march a northerly direction. About fifty yards to the north-west of the village of Anana, rises a rather considerable ridge of mounded earth, fourteen feet high, running due north for three hundred yards, then forming a right angle due east, takes that direction till it meets the river. All around was very low and marshy; and the mounds in question were nearly all I could see for a good way up, along this bank of the stream.

Having traversed the plain north-west for some time, in search of farther mounds in that direction, I turned, disappointed, and bent my way south-west, keeping Birs Nimrood in my eye. After riding onward about a mile, I found the little vegetation which cheered the waste gradually disappear, and the ground become perfectly sterile. All over this surface evident marks are visible of its having been formerly covered with buildings; these indications increased at every step, till, after such growing proofs for more than a mile, we came to a numerous, and very conspicuous assemblage of mounds; the most considerable of which, was about thirty-five feet in height; and from its elevated summit I observed that the face of the country, both to the north and the south, for up-

wards of a mile either way, bore the same hillocky appearance; besides being thickly scattered with those fragments of past habitations, which, in all Babylonian ruins, have so particularly marked their character. From the highest point, I took the following bearings: Mujelibé N. 40° E.; tree on the Kasr N. 55° E.; Amran Tomb N. 80° E.; Mesched Esshems S. 65° E.; Birs Nimrood S. 25° W. Here, doubtless, is the trace of a building of considerable consequence. The extent of its mounds and ruins-tracked ground, seemed more than two miles; and, having traversed that extent to the south-west, I found the hilly vestiges did not cease for a mile beyond. Here, I think it is possible, I may have found the site of the old or lesser palace; which, probably, was the temporary abode of Alexander, during his inspection of his workmen, while clearing away the ruins of its fallen superstructures from the base of the temple of Belus. In the midst of the labour, and after having been engaged nearly two months in that attempt, we are told that he died; but previous to the event, he ordered himself to be "removed from his residence on one side of the river, to his palace on the other:" and the eastern having been the most stately of the two, we can hardly entertain a doubt of its having also been the conqueror's stationary habitation.

Having duly explored this second specimen of considerable remains, we came out upon a good deal of cultivated ground; over which we took our course for more than a mile, when we arrived at the banks of a canal, the bed of which we crossed; and half a mile more brought us to an extensive wood of date-trees, in the bosom of which stands the village of Thamasia. We did not halt there, but passed on over two miles of cultivation and high grass; at which extremity, a vast tract opened before us, covered with every minor vestige of former buildings; and which appearances continued the whole way to the eastern verge of the boundary around Birs Nimrood, a distance of nearly a mile and three-quarters. These remains seem, to my apprehension, not only to establish the fact, that the western plain of the Euphrates sustained its portion of the city of Babylon, as well as the eastern bank, but that Birs Nimrood, otherwise the temple of Belus, did actually stand in one division of the city. Indeed, if the recorded dimensions of Babylon are compared with the

relative situation of that extraordinary pile, and the traceable buildings still extant, it will be found that the Birs must have stood even far within the computed limits of the city.

LIONS.

In this my second visit to Birs Nimrood, while passing rapidly over the last tracks of the ruin-spread ground, at some little distance from the outer bank of its quadrangular boundary, my party suddenly halted; having descried several dark objects moving along the summit of its hill, which they construed into dismounted Arabs on the look-out, while their armed brethren must be lying concealed under the southern brow of the mound. Thinking this very probable, I took out my glass to examine, and soon distinguished that the causes of our alarm were two or three majestic lions, taking the air upon the heights of the pyramid. Perhaps I never had beheld so sublime a picture to the mind, as well as to the eye. These were a species of enemy which my party were accustomed to dread without any panic fear; and, while we continued to advance, though slowly, the hallooing of the people made the noble beasts gradually change their position, till, in the course of twenty minutes, they totally disappeared. We then rode close up to the ruins; and I had once more the gratification of ascending the awful sides of the tower of Babel. In my progress I stopped several times to look at the broad prints of the feet of the lions, left plain in the clayey soil; and, by the track, I saw that if we had chosen to rouse such royal game, we need not go far to find their lair. But, while thus actually contemplating these savage tenants, wandering amidst the towers of Babylon, and bedding themselves within the deep cavities of her once magnificent temple, I could not help reflecting on how faithfully the various prophecies had been fulfilled, which relate, in the Scriptures, to the utter fall of Babylon, and abandonment of the place; verifying, in fact, the very words of Isaiah,—"Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and the houses shall be full of doleful creatures: owls shall dwell there, and dragons shall cry in the pleasant places."

AL HYMER, ON THE EASTERN SHORE.

November 22d. — Another gigantic object worthy of note, lay pretty far on the eastern side of the Euphrates; and, again attended by my escort, I set forth this morning to resume my researches in

in that quarter. The pile in view is called Al Hymer. Its distance from the western suburb of Hillah cannot be less than eight miles and a half; and from the eastern bank of the Euphrates opposite Anana, in a direct line it may be about seven miles and a half. On clearing the gardens in the vicinity of Hillah, we bent our course north 30° east, for full an hour. The country, as usual, was perfectly flat, except where interrupted by the endless traversings of old canal beds; some of which are of prodigious width, and of an answering depth and steepness, often so abrupt as to be exceedingly troublesome to pass. Having ridden an hour, we took a direction due east, crossing, at different distances, three other canals in a course from north to south; the last of the three was very wide, and not more than a mile from Al Hymer, the whole of which intervening space is covered with broken bricks, pottery, glass, and all the other usual relics of Babylonian ruins. When we reached the great mound itself, which had long been a conspicuous object above the horizon, I found it to be pyramidal, with numerous dependant smaller mounds. Its base was nearly circular, in circumference 276 yards, and in height about 60. One-third of its elevation is composed of unburnt brick, the rest of the pile of that which has passed through the fire.

While standing on the mount of Al Hymer, we perceived, at some little distance to the eastward, a considerable group of mounds, appearing nearly equal in height to the one we then occupied. To these we directed our horses' heads; and found the distance between the one we left and those to which we were going, about 1656 yards; the intermediate track being divided by a deep and highly embanked old canal, which ran south 25° east. — On its first appearance it gave me so much the idea of a ruined wall, that I conceived it possible to have here found some trace of the long-sought boundary of Babylon; but on close examination, like searching for the philosopher's stone, the pursuit still ended in disappointment. Nitrous tracks, and other incontestible vestiges of former ancient buildings, spread all the way from the mount of Al Hymer to the bank of this old water-channel, and beyond it, even to the base of the vaster mounds we approached. Minor elevations covered the plain on every side; and we quickly ascended the highest of the prominent group. It was not infe-

rior in height to Al Hymer, and of the same conical form. From its base three branches projected, of less elevation; two running southward and south-west; and the third, the longest, to the north; from which struck out eastern and western ramifications. This central mound, and its adjuncts, stood perfectly detached from all others, in an open area; nearly surrounded towards the north and north-east by a deep chain of minor mounds, covered with the usual fragments of scattered ruin.

The distance from Al Hymer to the shores of the Euphrates, being close upon eight miles, puts it out of the question to suppose it could have ever stood within the limits of Babylon, or even formed any part of its great bulwarked exterior wall; yet, from every internal proof, it is a structure of the Babylonian age. I do not doubt that Al Hymer, with its minor mounds, and all the others, great and small, east of the canal (long before the intrusion of that canal and its neighbours,) formed one place; but of what sort, we are left to conjecture; and I venture to think not improbably one of the colleges or towns, dedicated to the astronomers and soothsayers of Babylon. In Al Hymer, we may find the pyramidal pile whence the heavens were explored; and in the larger and lesser mounds, and other vestiges of building, the remains of former temples, mansions, &c. belonging to the Sabian philosophers, prophets, and other sages, with their disciples attendant on the knowledge of the stars.

THE EUPHRATES.

The Euphrates, (on whose banks I had passed so many interesting hours,) though not so rapid as its sister stream, is infinitely more majestic, and claims a longer course, rising from three sources amongst the mountains of Armenia. The most distant, springs a few miles to the north of Arzeroom, where it bears the name of the Kara-Sou, a title common to streams in Persia. The second source rises about thirty miles south of Arzeroom, and is called the West Frat; and the third springs many miles to the east, not far from Bayazid. After flowing thus in three currents to the south-west, through many a wild glen and rich valley, all unite in one channel at the foot of the mountains, (nearly opposite the source of the Tigris; and thence winding on in full stream, south and south-west, in a corresponding course to that of the Tigris, the two rivers form a junction at Korna; and under the appellation

lation of the Shat-el Arab, "the river of Arabia," roll on in one noble flood to the Persian Gulf, seventy miles south of Bussora. The name of Phrat, or Euphrates, Josephus describes as derived from words denoting fruitfulness, or dispersion, and either apply to the history of this river. Its course comprehends an extent of fourteen hundred miles, but its width varies considerably during so long a journey.

SUSA, OR SHUSHAN.

My next object of research was Susa. Major Monteith had visited that spot a few years before, in company with Mr. Macdonald Kinnier; and his account, communicated to me at Tabreez, when laying down my route for the south of Persia, redoubled my curiosity to inspect the same remains. But having been obliged to relinquish all in that tract of the exasperated Arabs, as well as in their ranges on the banks of the Euphrates, I must connect the chain of my narrative by retrospections from the information of my friend.

The ruins of Susa, in themselves, present an appearance not at all unlike those of Babylon, being a succession of similar mounds, covered with fragments of bricks, tiles, &c. and stretching over a space of country to the extent of ten or twelve miles. Of these mounds, two stand pre-eminent, and of enormous expanse; one being in circumference a mile, and the other nearly two; their height measures about 150 feet. They are composed of huge masses of sundried bricks, and courses of burnt brick and mortar, and stand not very far from the banks of the Kerrab, or Kara-Sou; from whose eastern shore the vestiges of this famous capital are yet traceable nearly to the banks of the Abzal, approaching the town of Desphoul. The people of the country distinguish these two great mounds, by the names of the Castle and the Palace; and at the foot of the largest appears a little dome-like building, under which travellers are shewn the tomb of the prophet Daniel. A dervise resides there, impressed with a belief of its peculiar sanctity, and who points to the grave of the inspired son of Judah, with as much homage as if it belonged to one of his own most respected imams. Though covered by this modern structure, no doubt is held by Jew, Arab, or Mussulman, of the great antiquity of the tomb beneath; all bearing the same tradition, that it indeed contains the remains of the prophet. Prideaux calculates that he died at Susa,

some time in the third or fourth year of Cyrus's empire over the Babylonians, of a great age; having been placed in government there by that king: and the same author remarks, that Josephus mentions a famous edifice built by Daniel at Susa, in the manner of a castle, which, the Jewish historian adds, was remaining in his time, and had been finished with such wonderful art, that even then it seemed as fresh and beautiful as if only newly built. Within this edifice, he continues, was the place where the Persian and Parthian kings used to be buried; and, for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even at that day. It must be observed that the copies of Josephus now extant do indeed place this building in Ecbatana in Media; but St. Jerome, who also gives an account of it, and professes to do so word for word out of Josephus, places it in Susa in Persia; which makes it plain that the copy of Josephus he quoted had it so. And that most likely is the true reading; for Susa having been within the Babylonian empire, (before it came into the possession of Cyrus,) the Scriptures tell us that Daniel sometimes resided there; and a common tradition has existed in those parts for ages, that Daniel died in that city, and there they shew his monument unto this day. The site of this once noble metropolis of the ancient princes of Elamis is now a mere wilderness, given up to beasts of prey; no human being disputing their reign, excepting the poor dervise who keeps watch over the tomb of the prophet. The friend to whom I am indebted for the outlines I subjoin, passed the night under the same protection, listening to the screams of hyænas, and the roaring of lions, wandering around its solitary walls.

RECOLLECTIONS & REFLECTIONS,

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL,

as connected with
PUBLIC AFFAIRS,

during

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

BY JOHN NICHOLLS, ESQ.

Member of the House of Commons in the 15th, 16th,
and 18th Parliaments of Great Britain.

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[Mr. Nicholls having published a second volume of his Recollections, and his entire work being the result of his personal observations during a long political life, we consider it a duty to present
our

our readers with some further extracts. Happy would it be for the world, if all men of Mr. N.'s profound views were at the same time of life to commit to writing the results of their experience. Each succeeding age would then be enabled to profit by the occurrences of the preceding age; and books, instead of being filled with the universal propositions and the crudities of youthful presumption, might be consulted as depositories of wisdom.]

DEATH OF BYNG.

ADAMIRAL BYNG was tried by a court martial under the 12th Article of War, which runs thus: "Every person in the fleet, who, through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall in time of action withdraw, or keep back, or not come into the fight or engagement, or shall not do his utmost to engage, take or destroy every ship which it shall be his duty to engage, and to assist and relieve all and every one of His Majesty's ships, or those of his allies, which it shall be his duty to assist and relieve, every such person so offending, and being convicted thereof by the sentence of a court martial, shall suffer death." The court martial declared that Admiral Byng had not failed from cowardice, nor from disaffection, nor did they accuse him of negligence; but found that he had not done his utmost to destroy the enemy's ships. They therefore pronounced him guilty under part of the 12th Article of War, in not having done his utmost to destroy the enemy's ships, and for this omission sentenced him to be shot, but unanimously recommended him to the King's mercy. Common sense must point out to every man, that to constitute guilt under this Article of War, there must in the naval officer have been an omission to do his utmost either from cowardice, or disaffection, or negligence; and that the omission to do his utmost to destroy the enemy's ships, where such omission does not arise from one of these motives, does not amount to a crime within this Article of War. But it suited the ministers that Byng should be shot. Notwithstanding the recommendation to mercy by the court martial, the King immediately signed a warrant for his execution. Earl Temple, who had been First Lord of the Admiralty on the removal of Lord Anson, towards the close of the year 1756, and the other commissioners of the Admiralty, refused to countersign the warrant. This occasioned some delay; but the ex-

ministers ultimately prevailed, and Admiral Byng was shot, to shelter a culpable administration.

It would be presumption in me to offer any opinion as to the plan which Admiral Byng had adopted for attacking the fleet of M. de la Galissonière. The French fleet lay to, expecting our attack. Admiral Byng proposed to go down in a slanting line for the purpose of preventing his ships from being raked. Admiral West disobeyed these orders, and went down in a straight line. Several ships of his division were raked and disabled; from which circumstance, the continuance of the attack was no longer practicable. Admiral Vernon publicly declared, that the mode of attack proposed by Admiral Byng was judicious, and that it failed through the disobedience of Admiral West.

WILLIAM THE THIRD.

It may be inferred, that I am not an admirer of the character of King William. To the man who makes such a charge against me, I shall reply, *Habes confitentem reum*. We are indebted to King William for the first establishment of our national debt, and of a standing army in time of peace; and what Englishman is there, who is not sensible of the misery which the people of England at this moment suffer from these establishments. The Tories zealously concurred in placing King William and Queen Mary on the throne. Whatever hesitation they might have had from the old doctrine of non-resistance, their scruples gave way to their love of civil and religious liberty; but they did not wish that such heavy taxes should be permanently imposed on the people of England, for the gratification of King William in his continental wars. The Tories composed the landed interest: they and their posterity were to bear these permanent burdens: it is not wonderful therefore, that they hesitated, before they consented to impose them. The Whigs did not possess so large a share of the landed property; they, therefore, did not view these permanent taxes with the same aversion. The practice of funding, and of imposing taxes to pay the interest, had long prevailed in Holland. It was acceptable to the existing generation, because they felt the burden of the interest only, instead of the principal; and probably much of the money, during the reign of King William, was advanced by foreigners and Jews, who received larger interest from the newly

newly created English funds than they could obtain in any other country.

The war, on account of the Spanish succession, had been resolved on before the close of King William's life. The design was persevered in by Queen Anne, through the influence of the Duke of Marlborough. This nobleman must be viewed as having succeeded to that situation which had been occupied by King William. He was, by political connexions, a Tory; but he saw that the Whigs would be more disposed to advance money for the continuance of the war than his former friends; he, therefore, changed his party; and, although Queen Anne had a preference for the Tories, yet the sway which the Duchess of Marlborough possessed over the mind of the Queen, preserved for a long time the Duke's influence from being diminished. The Queen was awakened at last to the consequences of the heavy burdens imposed upon her subjects, and she resolved to terminate the war. In effecting this, she was embarrassed by the Whigs; whose power was much increased, not only by the great ability of their leaders, but from their long continuance in office, and uninterrupted distribution of patronage. The latter years of her life were years of affliction. She cannot be called a great Queen; but, viewed as an individual, every part of her life merits our esteem and partiality.

The three first sovereigns of the Brunswick line have followed the footsteps of King William. Continental wars, an augmentation of the national debt, and a standing army uniformly increasing, have distinguished their successive reigns; till, at length, we have been brought to consider a national debt and a standing army as forming part of our constitution. And we hear, without astonishment, of forty-four millions sterling employed to pay the interest of our debt, and eleven millions sterling demanded for the army in time of peace.

JUDGES' ACT.

At the common law commissions were granted to the Judges *durante bene placito*. By the Act of Settlement, 13th William III. it was enacted, That commissions should be granted to the Judges *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. George II. while Prince of Wales, had been displeased with some of the Judges, for the opinion which they had given on a dispute between him and his father, respecting the guardianship of George the Second's children; and, as by the death

of George I. all commissions granted by him were terminated, it was necessary that new commissions should be granted to the Judges by George II. The Act of Settlement compelled the King to grant commissions to the Judges *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, but it did not compel him to grant those commissions to the men who had been Judges in his father's reign; and George II. refused to grant new commissions to those Judges who had offended him. At the accession of George III. those who had the most influence about the young King, had a wish to throw reproach upon the memory of George II.; the King, therefore, was prevailed on to recommend to Parliament to enact, That every succeeding King should grant new commissions to those who had held the office of Judge in the preceding reign. The courtiers of George III. have trumpeted this conduct as a singular mark of George the Third's disposition to diminish his power; but in fact George III. increased his power by this measure: having no dislike to those whom he found in office, he had renewed their commissions. By the statute which he thus procured to be enacted, he rendered those Judges whom he might himself afterwards appoint, irremovable by his successor; and thus, instead of diminishing his power, he increased it.

I do not mean to vindicate the conduct of George II. in refusing to grant new commissions to those gentlemen who had been Judges in his father's reign. I will even admit that his conduct on this occasion was injudicious; but the manner in which the subject was brought forward in Parliament, and the elaborate praises bestowed upon the young King on this occasion, flowed from the malevolence which had been cultivated at the Court of Leicester House against the deceased monarch; and which was not terminated even by his death.

LORD TEMPLE.

Earl Temple possessed at one time a considerable degree of popularity; he owed it to his connexion with his brother-in-law, Mr. Secretary Pitt. Leonidas Glover speaks with much approbation of Earl Temple's conduct in December 1756, in going down to the House of Lords, while labouring under a severe fit of sickness, to oppose a clause of thanks to the King for having introduced the German auxiliaries. I think the conduct of Earl Temple, on this occasion, was peevish and ill-timed. These German

German troops had been sent for over in consequence of addresses from the two Houses; it was, therefore, but properly respectful that his Majesty should be thanked for his compliance with the request of Parliament. It was certainly an unnecessary opposition, and probably proceeded from the noble Earl's self-importance having been offended, at the admission of this clause into the address without his previous approbation.

Earl Temple's character seems to be fairly given by Lord Waldegrave. He tells us, that George II. had a decided aversion to him. That the noble Earl had a pert familiarity not agreeable to majesty; and that on some occasions, he had used an insolence of expression which the King could never forgive. On the removal of the Marquis of Rockingham in 1766, George III. authorized Mr. Pitt to form an administration. Under this authority, Mr. Pitt applied to his brother-in-law, Earl Temple; and from the accounts of that negotiation which have reached us, Mr. Pitt seems to have allotted the place of First Lord of the Treasury to the noble Earl; but Earl Temple seems to have demanded more power in the selection of his colleagues, than Mr. Pitt was disposed to allow: the negotiation failed. The two brothers-in-law separated, and I believe were never afterwards re-united.

LORD CHATHAM'S EULOGIUM.

I hesitate to say any thing respecting the eloquence of the late Earl of Chatham. I have already mentioned the terms in which it is described by his contemporary, Mr. Glover. For myself, I never heard the Earl of Chatham but once; that was on the subject of Falkland Island, in 1771. The effects of his eloquence seemed to arise from sudden bursts, which surprised and terrified his hearers, rather than from any continued chain of reasoning: it was a style fitted more for offensive, than for defensive purposes; more suited to the House of Commons, than to the House of Lords; it was a style peculiar to himself, eminently and visibly artificial. On the Falkland Island question, the Earl of Chatham wished to engage the country in a war. We are indebted to George III. for having protected us from this calamity.

THE FRENCH WAR.

I cannot refrain from remarking in this place, how unfortunate it was that those great families whom Mr. Edmund Burke deluded into the desire of a crusade against French principles, had not

an accurate knowledge of the causes which led to the French Revolution. Had they seen that it was the division of France into two distinct classes of nobles and bourgeois which had given occasion to the Revolution, they must have known that there was no such division of the people of England; and that consequently we had no real cause to apprehend a similar revolution: their ignorance was the source of our misfortunes. Mr. Pitt was equally ignorant of the causes of the French Revolution. He embarked in the war as the measure which would be the least embarrassing to his administration. His colleagues in the cabinet had one object: he himself, as far as he can be said to have had any definite object, was actuated by an object incompatible with that of his colleagues; he found himself entangled, and that he could not retreat from that war in which he had engaged; he floundered on without wisdom, and without weighing the consequences of the measures which he brought forward. He imposed taxes without considering how destructive they were to the happiness of the people; he negotiated with foreign states, without remarking how unequal they were to the measures which he wished them to effectuate. He relinquished his former sentiments of frugality, because he found that wasteful expenditure was necessary to enable him to carry on his government.

GRAMPOUND.

I hope and trust, that the principles advanced on the disfranchisement of Grampound, will influence the opinion of Parliament when they take into consideration the state of other boroughs. If Grampound was incapable of exercising its functions, because it was diseased, *à fortiori*, must a borough which is actually dead be incapable of such exercise; and is not this the case in a burgate tenement borough in which all the burgages belong to a peer? The peer himself is not capable of voting, because he is not of the order of the commonalty; and the fictitious colourable conveyances which he has executed the night before the election, have conveyed no property to the several grantees. I have mentioned burgate tenement boroughs, but I certainly consider those boroughs which have given themselves up to patrons, who feed them either with their own money, or with places procured from the minister, as equally fit to be disfranchised.

Let us view the situation of the borough

rough of Grampond. I will go no further back than the general election of 1780. At that time Grampond, with two other boroughs in the county of Cornwall, was under the influence of one patron; he was an opponent of the administration, and, as he wished to keep well with both parts of the opposition, he gave the nomination for two seats to the Marquis of Rockingham, and for two others to the Earl of Shelburne. The other two seats were kept by the patron for himself and a private friend. The price paid by the nominees for each seat was 3000*l*. I am unacquainted with the circumstances which took place at the elections which intervened between 1780 and 1796. But in that year the electors of Grampond discovered, that, although their patron only distributed 3000*l*. among the electors, he was in the practice of receiving 6000*l*. at every general election from the two members returned. They therefore determined to sell through another patron, from whom they might receive the full sum paid by the two elected members.

The return of members to parliament ought not to be obtained by bribery; but is it more injurious to the state when the electors appropriate the whole money to themselves, than it is when they are cheated out of one-half of it by their patron? The elector receives the bribe, at the peril of being convicted in a penalty of 500*l*.; but, at the period I allude to, the patron, not being an elector, was subject to no penalty. But the mischief to the state is much greater when an individual peer has acquired the nomination to *many* seats. Is it not known that there are at this time two noble earls, one of whom names nine members, and the other eight? What political power might not be acquired by the confederacy of a few such individuals? We are compelled to acquiesce in the waste of the public money by the minister, to enable him to resist the efforts of such confederacies.

BURKE AND THE WHIGS.

The influence which Mr. Edmund Burke had acquired over the Marquis of Rockingham, was great; but that which he afterwards possessed over the mind of the Duke of Portland was still more considerable. In fact, the Duke of Portland had no opinions of his own; he spoke and acted under the direction of Mr. Burke. The India Bill, brought forward in November 1783, and the contest which followed, left the party not only deprived of office, but also highly

unpopular. The peace had enabled the country to recover much of its prosperity; and perhaps Mr. Pitt drew more credit from this circumstance than he merited. The King's illness in 1788, and the conduct of the opposition on that occasion, while it conciliated compassion to the King, revived the unpopularity of the Whig families. The French Revolution burst forth in 1789. Perhaps at the very commencement it excited alarm in the nobles, as well as in the King. They were misled by the similitude of names; but Mr. Pitt wisely restrained this country from interfering in the affairs of France. Towards the close of the year 1792, Mr. Burke had sufficient influence over the great Whig families, to induce them to concur with the King in clamouring for a crusade against French principles. Mr. Pitt was unable to resist; and, that he might retain his situation as minister, he was under the necessity of receiving the great Whig families into his cabinet, and of embarking the country in the crusade. To say that this crusade has failed, would not adequately express the consequences which have followed from it. It has established the principles of liberty through the greatest part of Europe, and of South America; while Great Britain exhibits itself to every eye, exhausted by those efforts which it has been prevailed on to employ. Nor is the contest at an end; Europe must suffer more paroxysms, before it is depurated from the remains of feudalism. In this crisis, the great Whig families present themselves to the people; they offer themselves as the assertors of its rights; but they are not trusted. The people complain loudly of their sufferings, but have little reliance on the great Whig families for their relief.

LORD CLIVE.

Lord North had agreed to support the accusation brought forward in the House of Commons against Lord Clive. I happened to be with Mr. Thurlow the morning after the debate. General Burgoyne came in: he observed, that although Lord North had professed to speak against Lord Clive, yet it was so manifest from Lord North's speech that he wished his friends should vote for him, that during the debate Lord George Germaine got up, kissed his hand to General Burgoyne, and walked out of the house. General Burgoyne had been one of the most active accusers; and Thurlow had supported the accusation with sincerity. I recollect Thurlow's remark

remark in answer to General Burgoyne. "Lord North has played a very deep, and a very dirty game: he drove Lord Clive to the wall, forced him to surrender his six members, and then abandoned the accusers." But, although the accusation failed, it broke Lord Clive's heart: he fell a victim to the mortification which he had suffered. Lord Clive had not been accustomed to public speaking, yet he defended himself in the debate with great ability, and much dignity. He closed his defence with these words: "He hoped that while the House decided on his honour, they would not forget their own." The mind of Lord Clive was certainly cast in the heroic mould; and if our Indian empire is of any value to Great Britain, Lord Clive undoubtedly laid the foundation of that empire. As an Englishman I am grateful to his memory.

INDIA.

But of all our acquisitions, the empire which has been formed in India, seems to be that which is likely to be productive of the most important consequences. Has the British empire in India, down to the present time, produced any benefit to us? This is a question which cannot be answered without much reflection. I am not prepared to say, that our acquisitions in India may not have produced benefit; but I hesitate much to say, that they have upon the whole been advantageous to us. The wealth which has been brought into this country from India, has enabled our government to make greater exertions in all its transactions with foreign states. When George III. invaded the rights of his American subjects, the wealth of India enabled him to support a war against France, Spain, and Holland, without relinquishing his expensive efforts against the inhabitants of America. The crusade against French principles, begun in 1793, may also be considered as having owed its long continuance to the wealth of India. That wealth enabled the British government to subsidize every sovereign who was willing to receive its money; but what has been the effect of these exertions? You see it in the luxurious few, and in the impoverished many. It is true, that the wealth of India may have enabled us to improve our agriculture, and our manufactures, and to extend our commerce; but it has led our Government to those wasteful exertions which have more than balanced these advantages. Patronage, immoderate taxation, and the minister's power of

corruption, have kept pace with the growth of our Indian empire. I have heard physicians say, that the juices of the human frame become sometimes so vitiated, that death is desirable. Perhaps we may be fast approaching to the hour, when Revolution, the euthanasia of governments, may be looked for as a relief.

But the calamities which I foresee, are from the loss of India. Sooner or later the Indian empire must be torn from us; and our exertions to prevent that loss will most probably leave us with every resource exhausted.

It is scarcely possible that our Indian empire can, for any great length of time, be united to Great Britain. Our government in that country is repugnant to the happiness of the inhabitants; it is avowed to be for the benefit of the governors, not of the governed; it is a government by foreigners, who, as fast as they acquire wealth, carry it out of the country. No relations of amity grow up between the governors and the governed. Religious usages obstruct intercourse between the Hindoos and the Europeans. And the Mahometans, who, before our acquisition of empire in that country, possessed all offices, both civil and military, cannot but look on us with aversion; their degradation is far greater than that of the Hindoos: their nobles seek subsistence as privates among our troops; they are not trusted with power, and they are deprived of their wealth; even the intercourse between the sexes has no tendency to soften the hatred of the Mahometans to the Europeans. The progeny are left a degraded race, helpless and wretched; despised by the Europeans, and hated by the Mahometans. Whenever an addition is made to our empire, the opulence of the inhabitants is rapidly diminished. When the victory of Plassy laid the foundation of our greatness in India, there were many Hindoos of prodigious wealth, and Mahometans of great power; both classes have disappeared; even the Europeans who every year go out, complain that they shall return with fortunes no ways proportionate to those of the individuals who had preceded them. The first countries which we acquired had the most productive soils; nearly the whole of Bengal is alluvial ground: under a hot sun, and with a command of water, its productions are to an extent unknown in a northern climate: and as the inhabitants consume but little, much is left for the European conqueror. But in

proportion as our empire has been extended, the soil has been found less fertile, and the inhabitants less opulent. After the first acquirers had carried off the fruits of their conquest, the Europeans who succeeded them, found little more than the gleanings of the harvest; yet the whole extent of country, productive and unproductive, requires equally to be defended. I am aware that, as long as the government of India can find money to pay their sepoy, there is good reason to believe that these soldiers will be faithful; but perhaps the moment may arrive, when this money is not to be found.

Whether the inhabitants under our dominion in India amount to sixty millions, or eighty millions, I will not pretend to say; but it is pretty well ascertained, that the revenue drawn from them does not exceed seventeen millions. I believe the India Company derives no profit from its commerce with Indostan: this commerce will probably be abandoned; for it affords the means of oppressing the English competitor, without being profitable to the Company: its commerce with China is perfectly distinct.

CONCLUSION.

I will now close these Recollections and Reflections. The sentiments which I have wished to impress are these:—First, that immoderate taxation is the grievance by which the country is oppressed; that this immoderate taxation has been the result of the unnecessary wars in which the nation has been involved during the reign of George III. and has been carried to such an excess, that it checks and impedes the creative industry of the people. Either the expenses of the government must be diminished, or a portion of the dividends must be withheld from the public creditor. Secondly, that this retrenchment cannot be effected without a reform of the House of Commons; inasmuch as wasteful expenditure is necessary, to enable the minister to regulate and controul this most expensive machinery. The Stuarts were expelled, because they abused the power confided to them. The House of Commons will be reformed from a similar cause, viz. because it has abused that power of taxing which has been confided to it by the Constitution. One other sentiment Englishmen should keep in mind; it is this,—that our government is, by the principles of our Constitution, a civil government; but that there are certain persons who, dur-

ing the reign of George III. have endeavoured to change it into a military government. This system cannot be persevered in; a German military, united to English profusion, is beyond what can be supported by the most active industry of the people; and when Englishmen are deprived of the enjoyment of those principles of civil liberty in which they have been accustomed to delight, their energies will cease.

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or,

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free discussion, and listen to the admonitions of bye-standers, before any thing is done, which, if wrong, cannot be recalled.]

PREFACE.

PLACED by peculiar circumstances arising from my profession, about the person of the most extraordinary man perhaps of any age, in the most critical juncture of his life, I determined to profit by the opportunities afforded me, as far as I could consistently with honour. The following volumes are the result.

The few alleviations which I had it in my power to offer, Napoleon repaid by the condescension with which he honoured me; and my necessary professional intercourse was soon increased into an intimacy, if I may speak of intimacy with such a personage. In fact, in the seclusion of Longwood, he soon almost entirely laid aside the emperor; with those about him, he conversed familiarly on his past life, and sketched the characters, and detailed the anecdotes, which are here presented faithfully to the reader. The unreserved manner in which he spoke of every thing can only be conceived by those who heard him; and, though where his own conduct was questioned, he had a natural human leaning towards himself, still truth appeared to be his principal, if not his only object. In the delineation of character he was peculiarly felicitous. His mind seemed to concentrate its beams on the object he wished to elucidate, and its prominent features became instantly discernible.—It may perhaps be only right to add, that some of the observations or arguments on particular subjects were committed to paper from Napoleon's own dictation.

I spoke as little and listened as attentively as I could, seldom interposing, except for the purpose of leading to those facts on which I wished for information. To my memory, though naturally retentive, I did not entirely trust; immediately on retiring from Napoleon's presence, I hurried to my chamber, and carefully committed to paper the topics of conversation, with, so far as I could, the exact words used. Where I had the least doubt as to my accuracy, I marked it in my journal, and by a subsequent recurrence to the topic, when future opportunities offered, I satisfied myself; this, although I have avoided them as much as possible, may account for some occasional repetitions, but I have thought it better to appear sometimes tedious,

than ever to run the risk of a misstatement.

The following official letter will shew, that it was at least the desire of his Majesty's ministers to bury Napoleon's mind with his body in the grave of his imprisonment. If I have disobeyed the injunction, it is because I thought that every fragment of such a mind should be preserved to history, because I despised the despotism which would incarcerate even intellect:—and because I thought those only should become subsidiary to concealment, who were conscious of actions which could not bear the light.

Admiralty-office; Sept. 13, 1817.

SIR,—My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having had under their consideration a work which has been published by Mr. Warden, late surgeon of his Majesty's ship *Northumberland*, their lordships have commanded me to signify their directions to you to acquaint all the officers employed under your orders, that they are to understand, that if they should presume to publish any information which they may have obtained by being officially employed at St. Helena, they will suffer their lordships' heavy displeasure.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN BARROW.

To Rear-Admiral Plampin, St. Helena.

LONGWOOD.

Longwood is situated on a plain formed on the summit of a mountain about eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea; and including Deadwood, comprises fourteen or fifteen hundred acres of land, a great part of which is planted with an indigenous tree called gumwood. Upon his return from Longwood, Napoleon proceeded to the Briars, and intimated to Sir George that he would prefer remaining there, until the necessary additions were made to Longwood, to returning to town, provided the proprietor's consent could be obtained. This request was immediately granted. The Briars is the name of an estate romantically situated about a mile and a half from James Town, comprising a few acres of highly cultivated land, excellent fruit and kitchen gardens, plentifully supplied with water, adorned with many delightful shady walks, and long celebrated for the genuine old English hospitality of the proprietor, Mr. Balcombe. About twenty yards from the dwelling house stood a little pavilion, consisting of one good room on the ground.

ground-floor, and two garrets, which Napoleon, not willing to cause any inconvenience to the family of his host, selected for his abode. In the lower room his camp-bed was put up, and in this room he ate, slept, read, and dictated a portion of his eventful life. Las Cases and his son were accommodated in one of the garrets above, and Napoleon's premier valet de chambre, and others of his household, slept in the other, and upon the floor in the little hall opposite the entrance of the lower room. At first his dinner was sent ready cooked from the town; but afterwards, Mr. Balcombe found means to get a kitchen fitted up for his use.

Mr. Balcombe's family consisted of his wife, two daughters, one about twelve and the other fifteen years of age, and two boys of five or six. The young ladies spoke French fluently, and Napoleon frequently dropt in to play a rubber of whist or hold a little *conversazione*. On one occasion he indulged them by participating in a game of blind-man's-buff, very much to the amusement of the young ladies. Nothing was left undone by this worthy family that could contribute to lessen the inconveniences of his situation.

FIRST RESIDENCE.

During the time that Napoleon resided at the Briars, I kept no regular journal, and consequently can give only a brief outline of what took place. His time was occupied principally in dictating to Las Cases and his son, or to Counts Bertrand, Montholon, and Gourgaud, some of whom daily visited him. He occasionally received some visitors, who came to pay their respects to him on the lawn before the house; and, in a few instances, some who had received that permission, were presented to him, when at Mr. Balcombe's in the evening. He frequently walked for hours in the shady paths and shrubberies of the Briars, where care was taken to prevent his being intruded upon. During one of these walks, he stopped and pointed out to me the frightful precipices which environed us, and said, "Behold your country's generosity, *this* is their liberality to the unfortunate man, who, blindly relying on what he so falsely imagined to be their national character, in an evil hour unsuspectingly confided himself to them. I once thought, that you were free: I now see that your ministers laugh at your laws, which are, like those of other nations, formed only to oppress the defenceless, and screen the power-

ful, whenever your government has any object in view."

MURAT AND NEY.

Some short time after his arrival at Longwood, I communicated to him the news of Murat's death. He heard it with calmness; and immediately demanded, if he had perished on the field of battle? At first I hesitated to tell him that his brother-in-law had been executed like a criminal. On his repeating the question, I informed him of the manner in which Murat had been put to death, which he listened to without any change of countenance. I also communicated the intelligence of the death of Ney. "He was a brave man, nobody more so; but he was a mad-man," said he. "He has died without having the esteem of mankind. He betrayed me at Fontainebleau: the proclamation against the Bourbons, which he said in his defence I caused to be given him, was written by himself, and I never knew any thing about that document until it was read to the troops. It is true, that I sent him orders to obey me. What could he do? His troops abandoned him. Not only the troops, but the people wished to join me."

MISS WILLIAMS.

I had lent him Miss Williams's "Present State of France" to read. Two or three days afterwards he said to me, while dressing, "That is a vile production of that lady of yours. It is a heap of falsehoods. This," opening his shirt, and shewing his flannel waistcoat, "is the only coat of mail I ever wore. My hat lined with steel too! There is the hat I wore," pointing to the one he always carried. "Oh, she has doubtless been well paid for all the malice and the falsehoods she has poured forth."

HIS HABITS.

Napoleon's hours of rising were uncertain, much depending upon the quantum of rest he had enjoyed during the night. He was in general a bad sleeper, and frequently got up at three or four o'clock, in which case he read or wrote until six or seven, at which time, when the weather was fine, he sometimes went out to ride, attended by some of his generals, or laid down again to rest for a couple of hours. When he retired to bed, he could not sleep unless the most perfect state of darkness was obtained, by the closure of every cranny through which a ray of light might pass; although I have sometimes seen him fall asleep on the sofa, and remain so for a few minutes in broad day-light. When ill,

ill, Marchand occasionally read to him until he fell asleep. At times he rose at seven, and wrote or dictated until breakfast time; or, if the morning was very fine, he went out to ride. When he breakfasted in his own room, it was generally served on a little round table, at between nine and ten; when along with the rest of his suite, at eleven: in either case *à la fourchette*. After breakfast, he generally dictated to some of his suite for a few hours, and at two or three o'clock received such visitors, as, by previous appointment had been directed to present themselves. Between four and five, when the weather permitted, he rode out on horseback or in the carriage, accompanied by all his suite, for an hour or two; then returned and dictated or read until eight, or occasionally played a game at chess, at which time dinner was announced, which rarely exceeded twenty minutes or half an hour in duration. He ate heartily and fast, and did not appear to be partial to high seasoned or rich food. One of his most favourite dishes was a roasted leg of mutton, of which I have seen him sometimes pare the outside brown part off; he was also partial to mutton chops. He rarely drank as much as a pint of claret at his dinner, which was generally much diluted with water. After dinner, when the servants had withdrawn, and when there were no visitors, he sometimes played at chess or at whist, but more frequently sent for a volume of Corneille, or of some other esteemed author, and read aloud for an hour, or chatted with the ladies and the rest of his suite. He usually retired to his bedroom at ten or eleven, and to rest, immediately afterwards. When he breakfasted or dined in his own apartment (*dans l'intérieur*), he sometimes sent for one of his suite to converse with him during the repast. He never ate more than two meals a day, nor, since I knew him, had he ever taken more than a very small cup of coffee after each repast, and at no other time. I have also been informed by those who have been in his service for fifteen years, that he had never exceeded that quantity since they first knew him.

ST. HELENA.

"In this *isola maladetta*," said he, "there is neither sun nor moon to be seen for the greatest part of the year. Constant rain and fog. It is worse than Capri. Have you ever been at Capri?" continued he. I replied in the affirmative. "There," said he, "you can have

every thing you want from the continent in a few hours." He afterwards made a few remarks upon some absurd falsehoods which had been published in the ministerial papers respecting him; and asked if it were "possible that the English could be so foolishly credulous as to believe all the stuff we published about him."

COCKBURN.

"He is not," said he, "a man of a bad heart; on the contrary, I believe him to be capable of a generous action; but he is rough, overbearing, vain, choleric, and capricious; never consulting any body; jealous of his authority; caring little of the manner in which he exercises it, and sometimes violent without dignity."

FEES.

He then asked me many questions about the relative price of articles in England and St. Helena, and concluded by asking if I took any fees for attending sick people on the island. I replied in the negative, which seemed to surprise him. "Corvisart," said he, "notwithstanding his being my first physician, possessed of great wealth, and in the habit of receiving many rich presents from me, constantly took a Napoleon for each visit he paid to the sick. In your country particularly every man has his trade: the member of parliament takes money for his vote, the ministers for their places, the lawyers for their opinion."

CHRONOMETERS.

"How shameful it is," said he, "for your government to put three or four hundred men on-board of a ship destined for this place without a chronometer, thereby running the risk of a ship and cargo, of the value perhaps of half a million, together with the lives of so many *poveri diavoli*, for the sake of saying three or four hundred francs for a watch. I," continued he, "ordered that every ship employed in the French service should be supplied with one. It is a weakness in your government not to be accounted for." He then asked me if it were true that a court of inquiry was then holding upon some officer for having made too free with the bottle. "Is it a crime," added he, "for the English to get drunk, and will a court-martial be the consequence? for, if that were the case, you would have nothing but court-martials every day. — was a little merry on-board every day after dinner." I observed that there was a wide difference between being merry and

and getting drunk. He laughed, and repeated what he had said relative to court martials. "Is it true," said he, "then, that they are sending out a house and furniture for me, as there are so many lies in your newspapers, that I have my doubts, especially as I have heard nothing about it officially?"

VISIT IN HIS BED-ROOM.

It was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering paper, and destitute of surface. Two small windows, without pullies, looking towards the camp of the 53d regiment, one of which was thrown up and fastened by a piece of notched wood. Window-curtains of white long cloth, a small fire-place, a shabby grate, and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantel-piece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantel-piece hung the portrait of Marie Louise, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of the mother. A little more to the right hung also a miniature picture of the Empress Josephine, and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber-watch of Frederic the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while on the right, the consular watch, engraved with the cypher B, hung by a chain of the plaited hair of Marie Louise, from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. The floor was covered with a second-hand carpet, which had once decorated the dining-room of a lieutenant of the St. Helena artillery. In the right-hand corner was placed the little plain iron camp bedstead, with green silk curtains, upon which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a paltry second-hand chest of drawers; and an old book-case, with green blinds, stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs, painted green, were standing here and there about the room. Before the back-door, there was a screen covered with nankeen, and between that and the fire-place an old-fashioned sofa, covered with white long cloth, upon which reclined Napoleon, clothed in his white morning gown, white loose trousers and stockings all in one. A chequered red madras upon his head, and his shirt collar open without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table,

with some books, at the foot of which lay, in confusion upon the carpet, a heap of those which he had already perused, and at the foot of the sofa, facing him, was suspended a portrait of the Empress Marie Louise, with her son in her arms. In front of the fire-place stood Las Cases with his arms folded over his breast, and some papers in one of his hands. Of all the former magnificence of the once mighty emperor of France, nothing was present except a superb wash-hand stand, containing a silver basin, and water-jug of the same metal, in the left-hand corner.

Napoleon, after a few questions of no importance, asked me, in both French and Italian, in the presence of Count Las Cases, the following questions:—"You know that it was in consequence of my application that you were appointed to attend upon me. Now I want to know from you, precisely and truly, as a man of honour, in what situation you conceive yourself to be, whether as my surgeon, as M. Maingaud was, or the surgeon of a prison-ship and prisoners? Whether you have orders to report every trifling occurrence, or illness, or what I say to you, to the governor? Answer me candidly; What situation do you conceive yourself to be in?" I replied, "As your surgeon, and to attend upon you and your suite. I have received no other orders, than to make an immediate report in case of your being taken seriously ill, in order to have promptly the advice and assistance of other physicians." "First obtaining my consent to call in others," demanded he; "is it not so?" I answered, "that I would certainly obtain his previous consent." He then said, "If you were appointed as surgeon to a prison, and to report my conversations to the governor, whom I take to be *un capo di spioni*, I would never see you again. Do not," continued he, (on my replying that I was placed about him as a surgeon, and by no means as a spy,) "suppose that I take you for a spy; on the contrary, I have never had the least occasion to find fault with you, and I have a friendship for you, and an esteem for your character, a greater proof of which I could not give you than asking you candidly your own opinion of your situation; as you, being an Englishman, and paid by the English government, might perhaps be obliged to do what I have asked." I replied as before said, and that in my professional capacity I did not consider myself to belong to any particular country.

try. "If I am taken seriously ill," said he, "then acquaint me with your opinion, and ask my consent to call in others. This governor, during the few days that I was melancholy, and had a mental affliction in consequence of the treatment I receive, which prevented me from going out, in order that I might not *ennuyer* others with my afflictions, wanted to send his physician to me, under the pretext of inquiring after my health. I desired Bertrand to tell him, that I had not sufficient confidence in his physician to take any thing from his hands. That if I were really ill, I would send for you, in whom I have confidence, but that a physician was of no use in such cases, and that I only wanted to be left alone. I understand that he proposed an officer should enter my chamber to see me, if I did not stir out. Any person," continued he, with much emotion, "who endeavours to force his way into my apartment, shall be a corpse the moment he enters it. If he ever eats bread or meat again, I am not Napoleon. This I am determined on; I know that I shall be killed afterwards, as what can one do against a *camp*? I have faced death too many times to fear it. Besides, I am convinced that this governor has been sent out by Lord ——. I told him a few days ago, that if he wanted to put an end to me, he would have a very good opportunity, by sending somebody to force his way into my chamber. That I would immediately make a corpse of the first that entered, and then I should be of course dispatched, and he might write home to his government, that '*Bonaparte*' was killed in a brawl. I also told him to leave me alone, and not to torment me with his hateful presence. I have seen Prussians, Tartars, Cossacs, Calmucks, &c.; but never before in my life have I beheld so ill favoured, and so forbidding a countenance. *Il porte le — empreint sur son visage.*"

After this, he mentioned his apprehensions of being afflicted with an attack of gout. I recommended him to take much more exercise. "What can I do," replied he, "in this execrable isle, where you cannot ride a mile without being wet through; an island, that even the English themselves complain of, though used to humidity?"

"During the short interview that this governor had with me in my bed-chamber," continued he, "one of the first things which he proposed was, to send you away, and to take his own surgeon

in your place. This he repeated twice; and so earnest was he to gain his object, that, although I gave him a most decided refusal, when he was going out, he turned about, and again proposed it. I never saw such a horrid countenance. He sat on a chair opposite to my sofa; and on the little table between us there was a cup of coffee. His physiognomy made such an unfavourable impression upon me, that I thought his looks had poisoned it, and I ordered Marchand to throw it out of the window; I could not have swallowed it for the world."*

"It appears," added he, "that this governor was with Blucher, and is the writer of some official letters to your government, descriptive of part of the operations of 1814. I pointed them out to him the last time I saw him, and asked him, *Est-ce vous, Monsieur?* He replied, 'Yes.' I told him that they were *pleines de faussetés et de sottises*. He shrugged up his shoulders, appeared confused, and replied; '*J'ai cru voir cela.*' If," continued he, "those letters were the only accounts he sent, he betrayed his country."

GENERAL MOORE.

"Moore," said he, "was a brave soldier, an excellent officer, and a man of talent. He made a few mistakes, which were probably inseparable from the difficulties with which he was surrounded, and caused perhaps by his information having misled him." This eulogium he repeated more than once; and observed, that he had commanded the reserve in Egypt, where he had behaved very well, and displayed talent. I remarked, that Moore was always in front of the battle, and was generally unfortunate enough to be wounded. "Ah!" said he, "it is necessary sometimes. He died gloriously—he died like a soldier." Menou was a man of courage, but no soldier. "You ought not to have taken Egypt. If Kleber had lived, you would never have conquered it. An army without artillery or cavalry. The Turks signified nothing. Kleber was an irreparable loss to France and to me. He was a man of the brightest talents, and the greatest bravery. I have composed the history of my own campaigns in Egypt and of yours, while I was at the

* These are strong expressions relative to a man, who, since his return, has been graciously received by George the Fourth, and been variously promoted and distinguished!—EDIT.

Briars. But I want the *Moniteurs* for the dates."

VILLENEUVE.

The conversation then turned upon French naval officers. "Villeneuve," said he, "when taken prisoner and brought to England, was so much grieved at his defeat, that he studied anatomy on purpose to destroy himself. For this purpose he bought some anatomical plates of the heart, and compared them with his own body, in order to ascertain the exact situation of that organ. On his arrival in France, I ordered that he should remain at Rennes, and not proceed to Paris. Villeneuve, afraid of being tried by a court-martial for disobedience of orders, and consequently losing the fleet, for I had ordered him not to sail, or to engage the English, determined to destroy himself, and accordingly took his plates of the heart, and compared them with his breast. Exactly in the centre of the plate, he made a mark with a large pin, then fixed the pin as near as he could judge in the same spot in his own breast, shoved it in to the head, penetrated his heart, and expired. When the room was opened, he was found dead; the pin in his breast, and a mark in the plate corresponding with the wound in his breast. He need not have done it," continued he, "as he was a brave man, though possessed of no talent."

A ship arrived from England; went to town; saw the governor, and on my return, went to Napoleon, who was playing at nine-pins with his generals in his garden. I told him (by desire of the governor) that a bill concerning him had been brought into Parliament, to enable ministers to detain him in St. Helena, and to provide the necessary sums of money for his maintenance. He asked if it had met with opposition? I replied, "scarcely any." "Brougham or Burdett," said he, "did they make any?" I replied, "I have not seen the papers, but I believe that Mr. Brougham said something."*

HIS REMEDIES.

Had a long medical argument with him, in which he maintained, that *his* practice in case of malady, viz. to eat nothing, drink plenty of barley water, and no wine, and ride for seven or eight leagues to promote perspiration, was much better than mine.

* It is deeply to be regretted that Mr. B. said so much.—EDIT.

LONDON.

He asked me a number of questions about London, of which I had lent him a history, which had been made a present to me by Captain Ross. He appeared to be well acquainted with the contents of the book, though he had not had it in his possession many days; described the plates, and tried to repeat several of the cries;—said that if he had been king of England he would have made a grand street on each side of the Thames, and another from St. Paul's to the river. The conversation afterwards turned upon the manner of living in France and England. "Which eats the most," said he, "the Frenchman or the Englishman?" I said, "I think the Frenchman." "I don't believe it," said Napoleon. I replied, that the French, though they nominally make but two meals a day, really have four. "Only two," said he. I replied, "they take something at nine in the morning, at eleven, at four, and at seven or eight in the evening." "I," said he, "never eat more than twice daily. You English always eat four or five times a day. Your cookery is more healthy than ours. Your soup is, however, very bad: nothing but bread, pepper, and water."

LORD HOLLAND.

Some conversation now passed relative to the protest which had been made by Lord Holland against the bill for his detention. Napoleon expressed that opinion of Lord Holland to which his talents and virtues so fully entitle him. He was highly pleased to find that the Duke of Sussex had joined his lordship in the protest; and observed, that when passions were calmed, the conduct of those two peers would be handed down to posterity with as much honour, as that of the proposers of the measure would be loaded with ignominy.

HIS ANTICIPATIONS.

He then spoke about the new house, said, that if he expected to remain long in St. Helena, he would wish to have it erected at the Plantation-house side; "but," continued he, "I am of opinion that as soon as the affairs of France are settled, and things quiet, the English government will allow me to return to Europe, and finish my days in England. I do not believe that they are foolish enough to be at the expense of eight millions annually, to keep me here, when I am no longer to be feared; I therefore am not very anxious about the house." He then spoke about escape, and said, that, even if he were inclined to try it, there

there were ninety-eight chances out of a hundred against his succeeding; "notwithstanding which," continued he, "this gaoler imposes as many restrictions, as if I had nothing more to do than to step into a boat and be off. It is true, that, while one lives, there is always a chance, although chained, enclosed in a cell, and every human precaution taken, there is still a chance of escape, and the only effectual way to prevent it is to put me to death. *Il n'y a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas.* Then all uneasiness on the part of the European powers, and Lord Castlereagh, will cease: no more expense, no more squadrons to watch me, or poor soldiers fatigued to death, with picquets and guards, or harassed carrying loads up those rocks."

HIS HABITS.

While dressing, he is attended by Marchand, St. Denis, and Novarre. One of the latter holds a looking-glass before him, and the other the necessary implements for shaving, while Marchand is in waiting to hand his clothes, *eau de Cologne*, &c. When he has gone over one side of his face with the razor, he asks St. Denis or Novarre, "Is it done?" and after receiving an answer, commences on the other. After he has finished, the glass is held before him to the light, and he examines whether he has removed every portion of his beard. If he perceives or feels that any remains, he sometimes lays hold of one of them by the ear, or gives him a gentle slap on the cheek, in a good-humoured manner, crying, "Ah, *coquin*, why did you tell me it was done?" This, probably, has given rise to the report of his having been in the habit of beating and otherwise ill-treating his domestics. He then washes with water, in which some *eau de Cologne* has been mingled, a little of which he also sprinkles over his person, very carefully picks and cleans his teeth, frequently has himself rubbed with a flesh brush, changes his linen and flannel waistcoat, and dresses in white kerseymer (or brown nankeen) breeches, white waistcoat, silk stockings, shoes and gold buckles, and a green single-breasted coat with white buttons, black stock, with none of the white shirt collar appearing above it, and a three-cornered small cocked hat, with a little tri-coloured cockade. When dressed, he always wears the cordon and grand cross of the legion of honour. When he has put on his coat, a little *bombonniere*, his snuff-box, and handkerchief, scented with *eau de Cologne*, are handed to him

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by Marchand, and he leaves the chamber.

ATROCIOUS PLOT.

Informed by Cipriani, that in the beginning of 1815, he had been sent from Elba to Leghorn, to purchase 100,000 francs worth of furniture for Napoleon's palace. During his stay, he became very intimate with a person named ***, who had a *** at Vienna, from whom a private intimation was sent to him, that it was the determination of the congress of Vienna to send the emperor to St. Helena, and even had sent him a paper containing the substance of the agreement, a copy of which he gave to Cipriani, who departed instantly for Elba, to communicate the information he had received to the emperor. This, with the confirmation which he afterwards received from M*** A** and M*** at Vienna, contributed to determine Napoleon to attempt the recovery of his throne.

HOBHOUSE'S BOOK.

He observed that a book, relative to his last reign in France, had been lately sent out by the author (an Englishman), to Sir Hudson Lowe, with a request that it should be delivered to him. On the back was inscribed, in letters of gold, —to the Emperor Napoleon, or, to the Great Napoleon. "Now," continued he, "this *galeriano* would not allow the book to be sent to me, because it had the 'Emperor Napoleon' written upon it; because he thought that it would give me some pleasure to see that all men were not like him, and that I was esteemed by some of his nation. *Non credeva che un uomo poteva essere basso e vile a tal segno.*"

Sir Hudson Lowe came to Longwood, and calling me aside in a mysterious manner, asked if I thought that "General Bonaparte" would take it well if he invited him to come to a ball at Plantation House, on the Prince Regent's birth-day? I replied, that, under all circumstances, I thought it most probable that he would look upon it as an insult, especially if made to "General Bonaparte."

After this, he spoke about Mr. Hobhouse's book, observed, that he could not send it to Longwood, as it had not been forwarded through the channel of the Secretary of State; moreover, that Lord Castlereagh was extremely ill spoken of, and that he had no idea of allowing General Bonaparte to read a book in which a British minister was treated in such a manner, or even to know that

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a work

a work containing such reflections could be published in England. I ventured to observe to his excellency, that Napoleon was very desirous to see the book, and that he could not confer a much greater favour than to send it up. Sir Hudson replied, that Mr. Hobhouse, in the letter which accompanied it, had permitted him to place it in his own library, if he did not think himself authorised to send it to its original destination.

On the following day, Napoleon again entered on the subject of the book to me, the detention of which by the governor he declared to be illegal; and that even if he were a prisoner under sentence of death, the governor's conduct would not be justifiable in detaining a printed and published book, in which there was no secret correspondence or treason, because there were some *bêtises* in it. By "*bêtises*," he meant the inscription addressed to him.

LESLIE'S AIR PUMP.

One of Leslie's pneumatic machines for making ice sent up to Longwood this day. As soon as it was put up, I went and informed Napoleon, and told him that the admiral was at Longwood. He asked several questions about the process, and it was evident that he was perfectly acquainted with the principles upon which air-pumps are formed. He expressed great admiration for the science of chemistry, spoke of the great improvements which had latterly been made in it, and observed, that he had always promoted and encouraged it to the best of his power. I then left him, and proceeded to the room where the machine was, in order to commence the experiment in the presence of the admiral. In a few minutes Napoleon, accompanied by Count Montholon, came in, and accosted the admiral in a very pleasant manner, seemingly gratified to see him. A cup full of water was then frozen in his presence in about fifteen minutes, and he waited for upwards of half an hour to see if the same quantity of lemonade would freeze, which did not succeed. Milk was then tried, but it would not answer. Napoleon took in his hand the piece of ice produced from the water, and observed to me, what a gratification that would have been in Egypt. The first ice ever seen in St. Helena was made by this machine, and was viewed with no small degree of surprise by the natives.

HIS QUARREL WITH LOWE.

He then said, "that governor came

here yesterday to annoy me. He saw me walking in the garden, and in consequence I could not refuse to see him. He wanted to enter into some details with me, about reducing the expenses of the establishment. He had the audacity to tell me that things were as he found them, and that he came up to justify himself: that he had come up two or three times before to do so, but that I was in a bath. I replied, 'No, Sir, I was not in a bath, but I ordered one on purpose not to see you. In endeavouring to justify yourself, you make matters worse.' He said that I did not know him; that, if I knew him, I should change my opinion. 'Know you, Sir,' I answered, 'How could I know you? People make themselves known by their actions; by commanding in battles. You have never commanded in battle. You have never commanded any but vagabond Corsican deserters, Piedmontese and Neapolitan brigands. I know the name of every English general who has distinguished himself, but I never heard of you except as a clerk to Blücher, or as a commandant of brigands. You have never commanded, or been accustomed to men of honour.' He said, that he had not sought for the employment. I told him, that such employments were not asked for; that they were given by governments to people who had dishonoured themselves. He said, that he only did his duty, and that I ought not to blame him, as he only acted according to his orders. I replied, 'So does the hangman. He acts according to his orders. But, when he puts a rope round my neck to finish me, is that a reason that I should like that hangman, because he acts according to his orders. Besides, I do not believe that any government could be so mean as to give such orders as you cause to be executed.' I told him, that, if he pleased, he need not send up any thing to eat. That I would go over and dine at the table of the brave officers of the 53d; that I was sure there was not one of them who would not be happy to give a plate at the table to an old soldier. That there was not a soldier in the regiment who had not more heart than he had. That in the iniquitous bill of parliament, they had decreed that I was to be treated as a prisoner, but that he treated me worse than a condemned criminal, or a galley slave, as those were permitted to receive newspapers and printed books, which he deprived me of. I said, 'You have power over my body, but

but none over my soul. That soul is as proud, fierce, and determined at the present moment, as when it commanded Europe.' I told him that he was a *birro Siciliano*, and not an Englishman; and desired him not to let me see him again until he came with orders to dispatch me, when he would find all the doors thrown open to admit him.

"It is not my custom," continued he, "to abuse any person, but that man's effrontery produced bad blood in me, and I could not help expressing my sentiments. When he had the impudence to tell me before the admiral that he had changed nothing; that all was the same as when he had arrived, I replied, 'Call the captain of ordonnance here, and ask him. I will leave it to his decision. This struck him dumb, he was mute.'

He told me, that he had found his situation so difficult, that he had resigned. I replied, that a worse man than himself could not be sent out, though the employment was not one which a *galantuomo* would wish to accept. If you have an opportunity," added he, "or if any one asks you, you are at liberty to repeat what I have told you."

LOWE'S RESIDENCE.

Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me to Plantation House. He asked me if I had heard the subject of their conversation. I replied, "some part of it." He wished to know what it was. I replied, "that I supposed he remembered it, and that I did not wish to repeat what must be disagreeable to him." He observed that I had mentioned it elsewhere, and that he had a right to hear it from my own lips. Although I had permission to communicate it, I was not pleased to be obliged to repeat to a man's face opinions such as those which had been expressed of him; but under the circumstances of the case, I did not think proper to refuse; I therefore repeated some parts. Sir Hudson said, that though he had not commanded an army against him, yet that he had probably done him more mischief, by the advice and information which he had given, prior to and during the conferences at Chatillon, some of which had not been published, as the conferences were going on at the time—than if he had commanded against him. That what he had pointed out, had been acted upon afterwards, and was the cause of his downfall from the throne. "I should like," added he, "to let him know this, in order to give him some cause for his

hatred. I shall probably publish an account of the matter."

Sir Hudson Lowe then walked about for a short time, biting his nails, and asked me if Madame Bertrand had repeated to strangers any of the conversation which had passed between General Bonaparte and himself? I replied, that I was not aware that Madame Bertrand was yet acquainted with it. "She had better not," said he, "lest it may render her and her husband's situation much more unpleasant than at present." He then repeated some of Napoleon's expressions in a very angry manner, and said, "did General Bonaparte tell you, sir, that I told him his language was impolite and indecent, and that I would not listen any longer to it?" I said, "no." "Then it shewed," observed the governor, "great littleness on the part of General Bonaparte not to tell you the whole. He had better reflect on his situation, for it is in my power to render him much more uncomfortable than he is. If he continues his abuse, I shall make him feel his situation. He is a prisoner of war, and I have a right to treat him according to his conduct. I'll build him up." He walked about for a few minutes repeating again some of the observations, which he characterized as ungentleman-like, &c. until he had worked himself into a passion, and said, "tell General Bonaparte that he had better take care what he does, as, if he continues his present conduct, I shall be obliged to take measures to increase the restrictions already in force. After observing that he had been the cause of the loss of the lives of millions of men, and might be again, if he got loose, he concluded by saying, "I consider Ali Pacha to be a much more respectable scoundrel than Bonaparte."*

THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

I asked him, if the King of Prussia was a man of talent. "Who!" said he, "the King of Prussia?" He burst into a fit of laughter. "He a man of talent! The greatest blockhead on earth. *Un ignorantaccio che non ha nè talento, nè informazione.* A Don Quixote in appearance. I know him well. He cannot hold a conversation for five minutes. Not so his wife. She was a very clever, fine woman, but very unfortunate. *Era bella, graziosa, e piena d'intelligenza.*

* Mr. Baxter came up and joined us about the moment that the expression was used.

THE BOURBONS.

He then conversed for a considerable time about the Bourbons. "They want," said he, "to introduce the old system of nobility into the army. Instead of allowing the sons of peasants and labourers to be eligible to be made generals, as they were in my time; they want to confine it entirely to the old nobility, to *émigrés* like that old blockhead Montchenu. When you have seen Montchenu, you have seen all the old nobility of France before the revolution. Such were all the race, and such they have returned, ignorant, vain, and arrogant as they left it. *Ils n'ont rien appris, ils n'ont rien oublié.* They were the cause of the revolution, and of so much bloodshed; and now, after twenty-five years of exile and disgrace, they return loaded with the same vices and crimes for which they were expatriated, to produce another revolution. I know the French. Believe me, that after six or ten years, the whole race will be massacred, and thrown into the Seine. They are a curse to the nation. It is of such as them that the Bourbons want to make generals. I made most of mine, *de la boue.* Wherever I found talent and courage, I rewarded it. My principle was, *la carrière ouverte aux talens*, without asking whether they were any quarters of nobility to shew. It is true, that I sometimes promoted a few of the old nobility, from a principle of policy and justice, but I never reposed great confidence in them. The mass of the people," continued he, "now see the revival of the feudal times, they see that soon it will be impossible for their progeny to rise in the army. Every true Frenchman reflects with anguish, that a family for so many years odious to France, has been forced upon them over a bridge of foreign bayonets. What I am going to recount, will give you some idea of the imbecility of the family. When the Count d'Artois came to Lyons, although he threw himself on his knees before the troops, in order to induce them to advance against me, he never put on the cordon of the legion of honour, though he knew that the sight of it would be most likely to excite the minds of the soldiers in his favour, as it was the order so many of them bore on their breasts, and required nothing but bravery to obtain it. But no, he decked himself out with the order of the Holy Ghost, to be eligible for which, you must prove one hundred and fifty years of nobility, an order formed purposely to exclude merit, and

one which excited indignation in the breasts of the old soldiers. 'We will not,' said they, 'fight for orders like that, nor for *émigrés* like these,' he had ten or eleven of these *imbéciles* as *aide-camps*. Instead of shewing to the troops some of those generals who had so often led them to glory, he brought with him a set of *misérables*, who served no other purpose than to recal to the minds of the veterans their former sufferings under the noblesse and the priests.

"To give you an instance of the general feeling in France towards the Bourbons, I will relate to you an anecdote. On my return from Italy, while my carriage was ascending the steep hill of Tarare, I got out and walked up, without any attendants, as was often my custom. My wife, and my suite, were at a little distance behind me. I saw an old woman, lame, and hobbling about with the help of a crutch, endeavouring to ascend the mountain. I had a great coat on, and was not recognized. I went up to her, and said, Well, *ma bonne*, where are you going with a haste which so little belongs to your years? What is the matter? '*Ma foi,*' replied the old dame, 'they tell me the emperor is here, and I want to see him before I die.' Bah, bah, said I, what do you want to see him for. What have you gained by him. He is a tyrant as well as the others. You have only changed one tyrant for another, Louis for Napoleon. '*Mais, monsieur*, that may be; but, after all, he is the king of the people, and the Bourbons were the kings of the nobles. We have chosen him, and if we are to have a tyrant, let him be one chosen by ourselves.' There," said he, "you have the sentiments of the French nation expressed by an old woman."

SOULT.

I asked his opinion about Soult, and mentioned that I had heard some persons place him in the rank next to himself as a general. He replied, "he is an excellent minister-at-war, or major-general of an army: one who knows much better the arrangement of an army, than to command in chief."

VANDAMME.

Heard a curious anecdote of General Vandamme. When made prisoner by the Russians, he was brought before the Emperor Alexander, who reproached him in bitter terms with being a robber, a plunderer, and a murderer; adding, that no favour could be granted to such an execrable character. This was followed

lowed by an order that he should be sent to Siberia, whilst the other prisoners were sent to a much less northern destination. Vandamme replied, with great *sang froid*, "It may be, sire, that I am a robber and a plunderer; but at least I have not to reproach myself with having soiled my hands with the blood of a father!!"

HIS PLANS.

"I expect nothing from the present ministry but ill treatment. The more they want to lessen me, the more I will exalt myself. It was my intention to have assumed the name of Colonel Meuron, who was killed by my side at Arcola, covering me with his body, and to have lived as a private person in England, in some part of the country, where I might have lived retired, without ever desiring to mix in the grand world. I would never have gone to London, nor have dined out. Probably I should have seen very few persons. Perhaps I might have formed a friendship with some *savans*. I would have rode out every day, and then returned to my books." I observed, that as long as he kept up the title of majesty, the English ministers would have a pretext for keeping him in St. Helena. He replied, "they force me to it. I wanted to assume an *incognito* on my arrival here, which was proposed to the admiral, but they will not permit it. They insist on calling me General Bonaparte. I have no reason to be ashamed of that title, but I will not take it from them. If the republic had not a legal existence, it had no more right to constitute me general, than first magistrate. If I were in England now, and a deputation from France were to come and offer me the throne, I would not accept of it, unless I knew such to be the unanimous wish of the nation. Otherwise I should be obliged to turn *bourreau*, and cut off the heads of thousands to keep myself upon it—oceans of blood must flow to keep me there.—I have made noise enough in the world already, perhaps too much, and am now getting old, and want retirement. These," continued he, "were the motives which induced me to abdicate the last time."

THE DETENSION.

I observed to him, that when he was emperor, he had caused Sir George Cockburn's brother to be arrested, when envoy at Hamburgh, and conveyed to France, where he was detained for some years. He appeared surprised at this, and endeavoured to recollect it. After

a pause, he asked me, if I was sure that the person so arrested was Sir George Cockburn's brother. I replied, that I was perfectly so, as the admiral had told me the circumstance himself. "It is likely enough," replied he, "but I do not recollect the name. I suppose, however, that it must have been at the time when I caused all the English I could find on the continent to be detained, because your government had seized upon all the French ships, sailors, and passengers, they could lay their hands upon in harbour, or at sea, before the declaration of war. I, in my turn, seized upon all the English that I could find at land, in order to shew them, that if they were all-powerful at sea, and could do what they liked there, I was equally so by land, and had as good a right to seize people on my element as they had upon theirs. Now," said he, "I can comprehend the reason why your ministers selected him. I am surprised, however, that he never told me any thing about it. A man of delicacy would not have accepted the task of conducting me here under similar circumstances. You will see," continued he, "that in a short time the English will cease to hate me. So many of them have been and are in France, where they will hear the truth, that they will produce a revolution of opinion in England—I will leave it to them to justify me, and I have no doubts about the result."

NEW INSULTS.

October 10, 1816.—Had some conversation with Napoleon in his dressing-room, during which I endeavoured to convince him that Sir Hudson Lowe might in reality have intended to offer civilities at times when his conduct was supposed to be insulting; that his gestures sometimes indicated intentions far from his thoughts; and particularly explained to him that Sir Hudson Lowe's having laid his hand upon his sword, proceeded entirely from an involuntary habit which he had of seizing his sabre, and raising it between his side and his arm, (which I endeavoured to shew him by gestures); that he had himself expressed to me that none but a confirmed villain would attempt to draw upon an unarmed man. "*Per i ragazzi, dottore,*" replied Napoleon, "*se non è boja, almeno ne ha l'aria.* Has he shewn you the new restrictions he has sent to us?" I replied, that he had not said a word about them. "*Ah,*" answered the emperor, "*son certo che abbia qualche cosa sinistra in vista.*"

This

This evening Count Bertrand came to my room in order that I should assist him in translating some part of the new restrictions which were, he said, of a nature so outrageous to the emperor, that he was induced to flatter himself with the idea that he had not understood them. They were those parts where Napoleon was prohibited from going off the high road; from going on the path leading to Miss Mason's; from entering into any house, and from conversing with any person whom he might meet in his rides or walks. Prepared as I was by the governor's manner, and by what I had observed this day, to expect something very severe, I confess that at the first sight of these restrictions, I remained thunderstruck, and even after reading them over three or four times, could scarcely persuade myself that I had properly understood them.

NAPOLEON'S REPININGS.

October 13.—Napoleon in his bath. Complained of headach, and general uneasiness; and was a little feverish. He railed against the island, and observed, that he could not walk out when the sun was to be seen, for half an hour, without getting a headach, in consequence of the want of shade. "*Vera-mente*," said he, "it requires great resolution and strength of mind to support such an existence as mine in this horrible abode. Every day fresh *colpi di stilo al cuore da questo boja, che ha piacere a far di male*. It appears to be his only amusement. Daily he imagines modes of annoying, insulting, and making me undergo fresh privations. He wants to shorten my life by daily irritations. By his last restrictions, I am not permitted to speak to any one I may meet. To people under sentence of death, this is not denied. A man may be ironed, confined in a cell, and kept on bread and water, but the liberty of speaking is not denied to him. It is a piece of tyranny unheard of, except in the instance of the man with the iron mask. In the tribunals of the inquisition, a man is heard in his own defence; but I have been condemned unheard, and without trial, in violation of all laws, divine and human; detained as a prisoner of war in a time of peace; separated from my wife and child, violently transported here, where arbitrary and hitherto unknown restrictions are imposed upon me; extending even to the privation of speech. I am sure," continued he, "that none of the ministers

except Lord Bathurst,* would give their consent to this last act of tyranny. His great desire of secrecy shews that he is afraid of his conduct being made known, even to the ministers themselves. Instead of all this mystery and espionage, they would do better to treat me in such a manner as not to be afraid of any disclosures being made. You recollect what I said to you when this governor told me, in presence of the admiral, that he would send any complaints we had to make to England, and get them published in the journals. You see now, that he is in fear and trembling lest Montholon's letter should find its way to England, or be known to the inhabitants here. They profess in England, to furnish all my wants, and in fact they send out many things: this man then comes out, reduces every thing, obliges me to sell my plate in order to purchase those necessities of life which he either denies altogether, or supplies in quantities so small as to be insufficient; imposes daily new and arbitrary restrictions; insults me and my followers; concludes with attempting to deny me the faculty of speech, and then has the impudence to write, that he has changed nothing. He says, that if strangers come to visit me, they cannot speak to any of my suite, and wishes that they should be presented by him. If my son came to the island, and it were required that he should be presented by him, I would not see him. You know," continued he, "that it was more a trouble than a pleasure for me to receive many of the strangers who arrived; some of whom merely came to gaze at me, as they would at a *curious beast*; but still it was consoling to have the right to see them, if I pleased."

HIS SERVANTS FIDELITY.

The paper sent by the governor to Longwood, containing an acknowledgment from the French of their willingness to submit to such restrictions as had, or might be imposed upon Napoleon Bonaparte, was signed by all, and sent to Sir Hudson Lowe. The only alteration made by them, was the substituting of "*l'Empereur Napoléon*," for "*Napoleon Bonaparte*." On the following day the papers were sent back by the governor, to Count Bertrand, with a demand that *Napoleon Bonaparte* should be inserted in the place of

* The man of the smallest mind in the present ministry of senior clerks in office.
—EDIT.

l'Empereur Napoléon. Saw Napoleon, who told me that he had advised them not to sign it, but rather to quit the island, and go to the Cape.

At eleven o'clock at night, a letter was sent by Sir Hudson Lowe to Count Bertrand, in which he informed him, that in consequence of the refusal of the French officers to sign the declaration with the words, *Napoleon Bonaparte*, they and the domestics must all depart for the Cape of Good Hope *instantly*, in a ship which was ready for their reception; with the exception of a cook, maître de hôtel, and one or two of the valets; that in consideration of the advanced state of Countess Bertrand's pregnancy, her husband would be permitted to remain until she was able to bear the voyage.

The prospect of separation from the emperor caused great grief and consternation among the inmates of Longwood, who, without the knowledge of Napoleon, waited upon Captain Poppleton after midnight, and signed the obnoxious paper, (with the exception of Santini, who refused to sign to any in which he was not styled *l'Empereur*), which was transmitted to the governor.

HIS TITLE.

I observed, that many were surprised at his having retained the title after abdication. He replied, "I abdicated the throne of France, but not the title of emperor. I do not call myself Napoleon, emperor of France, but the Emperor Napoleon. Sovereigns generally retain their titles. Thus Charles of Spain retains the title of king and majesty, after having abdicated in favour of his son. If I were in England, I would not call myself emperor. But they want to make it appear that the French nation had not a right to make me its sovereign. If they had not a right to make me emperor, they were equally incapable of making me general. A man, when he is at the head of a few, during the disturbances of a country, is called a chief of rebels; but, when he succeeds, effects great actions, and exalts his country and himself, from being styled chief of rebels, he is called general, sovereign, &c. It is only success which makes him such. Had he been unfortunate, he would be still chief of rebels, and perhaps perish on a scaffold. Your nation," continued he "called Washington a leader of rebels for a long time, and refused to acknowledge either him or the constitution of his country; but his successes obliged them to change,

and acknowledge both. It is success which makes the great man. It would appear truly ridiculous in me," added he, "to call myself emperor, situated as I am here, and would remind one of those poor wretches in Bethlem, in London, who fancy themselves kings amidst their chains and straw, were it not that your ministers force me to it."

SAVARY AND FOUCHÉ.

"*Pare,*" said he, "*che questo governatore è stato sempre spione.* He is fit to be commissary of police in a small town." I asked him, which he thought had been the best minister of police, Savary or Fouché, adding, that both of them had a bad reputation in England. "Savary," said he, "is not a bad man; on the contrary, Savary is a man of a good heart, and a brave soldier. You have seen him weep. He loves me with the affection of a son. The English, who have been in France, will soon undeceive your nation. Fouché is a miscreant of all colours, a priest, a terrorist, and one who took an active part in many bloody scenes in the revolution. He is a man who can worm all your secrets out of you with an air of calm and of unconcern. He is very rich," added he, "but his riches were badly acquired. There was a tax upon gambling houses in Paris, but, as it was an infamous way of gaining money, I did not like to profit by it, and therefore ordered that the amount of the tax should be appropriated to an hospital for the poor. It amounted to some millions; but Fouché, who had the collecting of the impost, put many of them into his own pockets, and it was impossible for me to discover the real yearly sum total."

HIS CREATIONS.

I observed to him, that it had excited considerable surprise, that during the height of his glory, he had never given a dukedom in France to any person, although he had created many dukes and princes elsewhere. He replied, "because it would have produced great discontent amongst the people. If, for example, I had made one of my marshals Duke of Bourgogne, instead of giving him a title derived from one of my victories, it would have excited great alarm in Bourgogne, as they would have conceived that some foedal rights and territory were attached to the title, which the duke would claim; and the nation hated the old nobility so much, that the creation of any rank resembling them would have given universal discontent,

content, which I, powerful as I was, dared not venture upon. I instituted the new nobility to *écraser* the old, and to satisfy the people, as the greatest part of those I created had sprung from themselves, and every private soldier had a right to look up to the title of duke.

HIS HEALTH.

He complained of his general health, and added, that he felt convinced that he could not last long, under all the circumstances. I advised, as remedies, exercise and the diet I had formerly recommended. He observed, that he had put in practice the diet and the other remedies, but as to taking exercise (which was the most essential) the restrictions presented an insurmountable obstacle. He asked many anatomical questions, particularly about the heart, and observed, *Credo che il mio cuore non batte mai, non l'ho sentito mai battere*. He then desired me to feel his heart. I tried for some time, but could not feel any pulsation, which I attributed to obesity. I had before observed, that the circulation in him was very slow, rarely exceeding fifty-eight or sixty in a minute, and most frequently fifty-four.

Oct. 21.—Dined at Plantation House in company with the Russian and Austrian commissioners, the botanist, and Captain Gor. They generally expressed great dissatisfaction at not having yet seen Napoleon. Count Balmaine in particular observed that they (the commissioners) appeared to be objects of suspicion; that, had he been aware of the manner in which they would have been treated, he would not have come out. That the Emperor Alexander had great interest in preventing the escape of Napoleon, but that he wished him to be well treated, and with that respect due to him: for which reason he (Count Balmaine) had only asked to see him as a private person and not officially as commissioner. That they should be objects of ridicule in Europe, as soon as it was known they had been so many months in St. Helena without ever once seeing the individual, to ascertain whose presence was the sole object of their mission. That the governor always replied to their questions that Bonaparte had refused to receive any person whatsoever. The botanist held language of a similar tendency, and remarked, that Longwood was "*le dernier séjour du monde*," and in his opinion the worst part of the island.

Oct. 23.—Napoleon indisposed: one of his cheeks considerably tumefied. Recommended fomentation and steaming the part affected, which he put in practice. Recommended also the extraction of a carious tooth, and renewed the advice I had given on many previous occasions, particularly relative to exercise, as soon as the reduction of the swelling permitted it; also a continuance of diet, chiefly vegetable, with fruits.

"There is either a furious wind," replied he, "with fog, which gives me a swelled face when I go out, or when that is wanting, there is a sun which scorches my brains (*c'è un sole che mi brucia il cervello*) for want of shade. They continue me purposely in the worst part of the island. When I was at the Briars, I had at least the advantage of a shady walk and a mild climate; *mais ici on arrivera au but qu'on se propose plus vite*," continued he. "Have you seen *lo sbirro Siciliano*?" I replied, that Sir Hudson Lowe had informed me that he had written to England an account of his proposal to assume an *incognito* name. "*Non dice altro che bugie*," said Napoleon. "It is his system. Lying," added he, "is not a national vice of the English, but this ***** has all the vices of the little petty states of Italy."

ALGIERS.

At Amiens, I proposed to your government to unite with me, either to entirely destroy those nests of pirates, or at least to destroy their ships, fortresses, and make them cultivate their country, and abandon piracy. But your ministers would not consent to it, owing to a mean jealousy of the Americans, with whom the Barbarians were at war. I wanted to annihilate them, though it did not concern me much, as they generally respected my flag, and carried on a large trade with Marseilles."

STATE OF ENGLAND.

The conversation turned upon the national debt and the great weight of taxes in England. Napoleon professed himself doubtful that the English could now continue to manufacture goods so as to be able to sell them at the same price as those made in France, in consequence of the actual necessities of life being so much dearer in England than in France. He professed his disbelief that the nation could support the immense weight of taxes, the dearness of provisions, and the extravagance of a bad administration. "When I was in France,"

France," continued he, "with four times the extent of territory, and four times the population, I never could have raised one half of your taxes. How the English *popolazzo* bear it, I cannot conceive. The French would not have suffered one fourth of them. Notwithstanding your great successes," continued he, "which are indeed almost incredible, and to which accident, and perhaps destiny, have much contributed, I do not think that you are yet out of the scrape: though you have the world at command, I do not believe that you will ever be able to get over your debt. Your great commerce has kept you up; but that will fail when you will no longer be able to undersell the manufacturers of other nations, who are rapidly improving. A few years will tell if I am right.

OUR ARMY AND NAVY.

The worst thing England has ever done, was that of endeavouring to make herself a great military nation. In attempting that, England must always be the slave of Russia, Austria, or Prussia, or at least subservient to some of them; because you have not a population sufficiently numerous to combat on the continent with France, or with any of the powers I have named, and must consequently hire men from some of them; whereas, at sea, you are so superior; your sailors are so much better, that you can always command the others with safety to yourselves and with little comparative expence. Your soldiers have not the requisite qualities for a military nation. They are not equal in address, activity, or intelligence, to the French. When they get from under the fear of the lash, they obey nobody. In a retreat, they cannot be managed; and if they meet with wine, they are so many devils (*tanti diavoli*), and adieu to subordination. I saw the retreat of Moore, and I never witnessed any thing like it. It was impossible to collect or to make them do any thing. Nearly all were drunk. Your officers depend upon interest or money for promotion. Your soldiers are brave, nobody can deny it; but it was bad policy to encourage the military mania, instead of sticking to your marine, which is the real force of your country, and one which, while you preserve it, will always render you powerful. In order to have good soldiers, a nation must always be at war."

WATERLOO.

"If you had lost the battle of Waterloo, what a state would England have

been in? The flower of your youth would have been destroyed; for not a man, not even Lord Wellington, would have escaped." I observed here that Lord Wellington had determined never to leave the field alive. Napoleon replied, "he could not retreat. He would have been destroyed with his army, if instead of the Prussians, Grouchy had come up." I asked him if he had not believed for some time that the Prussians who had shewn themselves, were a part of Grouchy's corps. He replied, "Certainly; and I can now scarcely comprehend why it was a Prussian division and not that of Grouchy." I then took the liberty of asking whether, if neither Grouchy nor the Prussians had arrived, it would not have been a drawn battle. Napoleon answered, "the English army would have been destroyed. They were defeated at mid-day. But accident, or more likely destiny, decided that Lord Wellington should gain it. I could scarcely believe that he would have given me battle; because, if he had retreated to Antwerp, as he ought to have done, I must have been overwhelmed by the armies of three or four hundred thousand men that were coming against me. By giving me battle, there was a chance for me. It was the greatest folly to disunite the English and Prussian armies. They ought to have been united; and I cannot conceive the reason of their separation. It was folly in Wellington to give me battle in a place, where, if defeated, all must have been lost, for he could not retreat. There was a wood in his rear, and but one road to gain it. He would have been destroyed. Moreover, he allowed himself to be surprised by me. This was a great fault. He ought to have been encamped from the beginning of June, as he must have known that I intended to attack him. He might have lost every thing. But he has been fortunate; his destiny has prevailed; and every thing he did will meet with applause. My intentions were, to attack and to destroy the English army. This I knew would produce an immediate change of ministry. The indignation against them for having caused the loss of forty thousand of the flower of the English army, would have excited such a popular feeling, that they would have been turned out. The people would have said, What is it to us who is on the throne of France, Louis or Napoleon; are we to sacrifice all our blood in endeavours to place on the

throne a detested family? No, we have suffered enough. It is no affair of ours,—let them settle it amongst themselves. They would have made peace. The Saxons, Bavarians, Belgians, Wirtemburghers, would have joined me. The coalition was nothing without England. The Russians would have made peace, and I should have been quietly seated on the throne. Peace would have been permanent, as what could France do after the treaty of Paris? What was to be feared from her?"

"These," continued he, "were my reasons for attacking the English. I had beaten the Prussians. Before twelve o'clock, I had succeeded. Every thing was mine, I may say, but accident and destiny decided it otherwise. The English fought most bravely doubtless, nobody can deny it. But they must have been destroyed.

THE WAR.

"Pitt and his politics," continued he, "nearly ruined England by keeping up a continental war with France." I remarked, that it was asserted by many able politicians in England, that if we had not carried on that war, we should have been ruined, and ultimately have become a province of France. "It is not true," said Napoleon; "England being at war with France, gave the latter a pretence and an opportunity of extending her conquests to the length she did under me, until I became emperor of nearly all the world, which could not have happened, if there had been no war. The conversation then turned upon the occupation of Malta. "Two days," said he, "before Lord Whitworth left Paris, an offer was made to the minister and to others about me of thirty millions of francs, and to acknowledge me as King of France, provided I would give you up Malta."—Napoleon added, however, that the war would have broken out, had Malta been out of the question.

JOSEPHINE.

Had some conversation with him relative to the Empress Josephine, of whom he spoke in terms the most affectionate. His first acquaintance with that amiable being commenced after the disarming of the sections in Paris, subsequently to the 13th of Vendemiaire, 1795. "A boy of twelve or thirteen years old presented himself to me," continued he, "and entreated that his father's sword (who had been a general of the republic,) should be returned. I was so touched by this affectionate re-

quest, that I ordered it to be given to him. This boy was Eugene Beauharnois. On seeing the sword, he burst into tears. I felt so much affected by his conduct, that I noticed and praised him much. A few days afterwards, his mother came to return me a visit of thanks. I was much struck with her appearance, and still more with her *esprit*. This first impression was daily strengthened, and marriage was not long in following."

LOWE'S REASONING.

Saw Sir Hudson Lowe. Informed him of Napoleon's state of health, and that he had attributed his complaints to the violence of the wind, and the bleak and exposed situation of Longwood; also that he had expressed a desire to be removed either to the Briars, or to the other side of the island. His excellency replied, "The fact is, that General Bonaparte wants to get Plantation-house; but the East India Company will not consent to have so fine a plantation given to a set of Frenchmen, to destroy the trees and ruin the gardens."

THE JEWS.

During the conversation, I took the liberty of asking the emperor his reasons for having encouraged the Jews so much. He replied, "I wanted to make them leave off usury, and become like other men. There were a great many Jews in the countries I reigned over; by removing their disabilities, and by putting them upon an equality with Catholics, Protestants, and others, I hoped to make them become good citizens, and conduct themselves like others of the community. I believe that I should have succeeded in the end. My reasoning with them was, that, as their rabbins explained to them, that they ought not to practise usury to their own tribes, but were allowed to do so with Christians and others, that, therefore, as I had restored them to all their privileges, and made them equal to my other subjects, they must consider me to be the head of their nation, like Solomon or Herod, and my subjects as brethren of a tribe similar to theirs. That, consequently, they were not permitted to practise usury with me or them, but to treat us as if we were of the tribe of Judah. That, having similar privileges to my other subjects, they were, in like manner, to pay taxes, and submit to the laws of conscription and others. By this, I gained many soldiers. Besides, I should have drawn great wealth to France, as the Jews are very numerous, and would have

have flocked to a country where they enjoyed such superior privileges. Moreover, I wanted to establish an universal liberty of conscience. My system was to have no predominant religion, but to allow perfect liberty of conscience and of thought, to make all men equal, whether Protestants, Catholics, Mahometans, Deists, or others; so that their religion should have no influence in getting them employments under government. In fact, that it should neither be the means of serving or of injuring them; and that no objection should be made to a man's getting a situation on the score of religion, provided he were fit for it in other respects. I made every thing independent of religion. All the tribunals were so. Marriages were independent of the priests; even the burying-grounds were not left at their disposal, as they could not refuse interment to the body of any person, of whatsoever religion. My intention was to render every thing belonging to the state and the constitution purely civil and independent of any religion. I wished to deprive the priests of all influence and power in civil affairs, and to oblige them to confine themselves to their own spiritual matters, and meddle with nothing else."

FREEMASONS.

I asked some questions relative to the freemasons, and his opinions concerning them. "A set of imbeciles who meet, à faire bonne chère, and perform some ridiculous fooleries. However," said he, "they do some good actions. They assisted in the revolution, and latterly to diminish the power of the pope, and the influence of the clergy. When the sentiments of a people are against the government, every society has a tendency to do mischief to it." I then asked if the freemasons on the continent had any connexion with the illuminati. He replied, "No, that is a society altogether different, and in Germany is of a very dangerous nature." I asked if he had not encouraged the freemasons? He said, "Rather so, as they fought against the pope."

CARNOT.

The following is his description of Carnot. A man laborious and sincere, but liable to the influence of intrigues and easily deceived. He had directed the operations of war, without having merited the eulogiums which were pronounced upon him, as he had neither the experience nor the habitude of war. When minister-of-war, he shewed but little talent, and had many quarrels with

the minister-of-finance and the treasury; in all of which he was wrong. He left the ministry, convinced that he could not fulfil his station for want of money. He afterwards voted against the establishment of the empire, but, as his conduct was always upright, he never gave any umbrage to the government. During the prosperity of the empire, he never asked for any thing; but after the misfortunes in Russia, he demanded employment, and got the command of Antwerp, where he acquitted himself very well. After Napoleon's return from Elba, he was minister of the interior; and the emperor had every reason to be satisfied with his conduct. He was faithful, a man of truth and probity, and laborious in his exertions. After the abdication, he was named one of the provisional government, but he was *joué* by the intriguers by whom he was surrounded. He had passed for an original amongst his companions when he was young. He hated the nobles, and on that account had several quarrels with Robespierre, who latterly protected many of them. He was member of the committee of public safety along with Robespierre, Couthon, St. Just, and the other butchers, and was the only one who was not denounced. He afterwards demanded to be included in the denunciation, and to be tried for his conduct, as well as the others, which was refused; but his having made the demand to share the fate of the rest, gained him great credit.

BARRAS.

"Barras," he said, "was a violent man, and possessed of little knowledge or resolution; fickle, and far from meriting the reputation which he enjoyed, though from the violence of his manner and loudness of tone in the beginning of his speeches, one would have thought otherwise."

THE POLES.

I made a few remarks upon the Poles who had served in his army, who I observed were greatly attached to his person. "Ah!" replied the emperor, "they were much attached to me. The present viceroy of Poland was with me in my campaigns in Egypt. I made him a general. Most of my old Polish guard are now employed through policy by Alexander. They are a brave nation, and make good soldiers. In the cold which prevails in the northern countries the Pole is better than the Frenchman." I asked him, if in less rigorous climates the Poles were as good soldiers

soldiers as the French. "Oh, no, no. In other places the Frenchman is much superior. The commandant of Dantzic informed me, that during the severity of the winter, when the thermometer sunk eighteen degrees, it was impossible to make the French soldiers keep their posts as sentinels, while the Poles suffered nothing. Poniatowsky," continued he, "was a noble character, full of honour and bravery. It was my intention to have made him King of Poland, had I succeeded in Russia."

THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN.

I asked to what he principally attributed his failure of that expedition. "To the cold, the premature cold, and the burning of Moscow," replied Napoleon. "I was a few days too late—I had made a calculation of the weather for fifty years before, and the extreme cold had never commenced until about the 20th of December, twenty days later than it began this time. While I was at Moscow, the cold was at three of the thermometer, and was such as the French could with pleasure bear; but on the march, the thermometer sunk eighteen degrees, and consequently nearly all the horses perished. In one night I lost thirty thousand. The artillery, of which I had five hundred pieces, was in a great measure obliged to be abandoned; neither ammunition nor provisions could be carried. We could not make a *reconnaissance*, or send out an advance of men on horseback to discover the way, through the want of horses. The soldiers lost their spirits, fell into confusion, and lost their senses. The most trifling thing alarmed them. Four or five men were sufficient to frighten a whole battalion. Instead of keeping together, they wandered about in search of fire. Parties, when sent out on duty in advance, abandoned their posts, and went to seek the means of warming themselves in the houses. They separated in all directions, became helpless, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. Others lay down, fell asleep, a little blood came from their nostrils, and, sleeping, they died. In this manner thousands perished. The Poles saved some of their horses and artillery, but the French, and the soldiers of the other nations I had with me, were no longer the same men. In particular, the cavalry suffered. Out of forty thousand, I do not think that three thousand were saved. Had it not been for that fire at Moscow, I should have succeeded. I would have wintered there. There were in that city about

forty thousand citizens, who were in a manner slaves. For you must know that the Russian nobility keep their vassals in a sort of slavery. I would have proclaimed liberty to all the slaves in Russia, and abolished vassalage and nobility. This would have procured me the union of an immense and a powerful party. I would either have made a peace at Moscow, or else I would have marched the next year to Petersburg. Alexander was assured of it, and sent his diamonds, valuables, and ships to England. Had it not been for that fire I should have succeeded in every thing. I beat them two days before, in a great action at Moskwa; I attacked the Russian army of two hundred and fifty thousand strong, entrenched up to their necks, with ninety thousand, and totally defeated them. Seventy thousand Russians lay upon the field. They had the impudence to say that they had gained the battle, though two days after I marched into Moscow. I was in the midst of a fine city, provisioned for a year, for in Russia they always lay in provisions for several months before the frost sets in. Stores of all kinds were in plenty. The houses of the inhabitants were well provided, and many had even left their servants to attend upon us. In most of them there was a note left by the proprietor, begging the French officers who took possession to take care of their furniture and other things; that they had left every article necessary for our wants, and hoped to return in a few days, when the Emperor Alexander had accommodated matters, at which time they would be happy to see us. Many ladies remained behind. They knew that I had been in Berlin and Vienna with my armies, and that no injury had been done to the inhabitants; and, moreover, they expected a speedy peace. We were in hopes of enjoying ourselves in winter quarters, with every prospect of success in the spring.

THE FIRE AT MOSCOW.

Two days after our arrival, a fire was discovered, which at first was not supposed to be alarming, but to have been caused by the soldiers kindling their fires too near the houses, which were chiefly of wood. I was angry at this, and issued very strict orders on the subject to the commandants of regiments and others. The next day it had advanced, but still not so as to give serious alarm. However, afraid that it might gain upon us, I went out on horseback, and gave every direction to extinguish it. The next morning

morning a violent wind arose, and the fire spread with the greatest rapidity. Some hundred miscreants, hired for that purpose, dispersed themselves in different parts of the town, and with matches, which they concealed under their cloaks, set fire to as many houses to windward as they could, which was easily done, in consequence of the combustible materials of which they were built. This, together with the violence of the wind, rendered every effort to extinguish the fire ineffectual. I myself narrowly escaped with life. In order to shew an example, I ventured into the midst of the flames, and had my hair and eye-brows singed, and my clothes burnt off my back; but it was in vain, as they had destroyed most of the pumps, of which there were above a thousand; out of all these, I believe that we could only find one that was serviceable. Besides, the wretches that had been hired by Rostopchin, ran about in every quarter, disseminating fire with their matches; in which they were but too much assisted by the wind. This terrible conflagration ruined every thing. I was prepared for every thing but this. It was unforeseen, for who would have thought that a nation would have set its capital on fire? The inhabitants themselves, however, did all they could to extinguish it, and several of them perished in their endeavours. They also brought before us numbers of the incendiaries with their matches, as amidst such a *popolazzo* we never could have discovered them ourselves. I caused about two hundred of these wretches to be shot. Had it not been for this fatal fire, I had every thing my army wanted; excellent winter quarters; stores of all kinds were in plenty; and the next year would have decided it. Alexander would have made peace, or I would have been in Petersburg." I asked if he thought that he could entirely subdue Russia. "No," replied Napoleon; "but I would have caused Russia to make such a peace as suited the interests of France. I was five days too late in quitting Moscow. Several of the generals," continued he, "were burnt out of their beds. I myself remained in the Kremlin until surrounded with flames. The fire advanced, seized the Chinese and India warehouses, and several stores of oil and spirits, which burst forth in flames and overwhelmed every thing. I then retired to a country-house of the Emperor Alexander's, distant about a league from Moscow,

and you may figure to yourself the intensity of the fire, when I tell you, that you could scarcely bear your hands upon the walls or the windows on the side next to Moscow, in consequence of their heated state. It was the spectacle of a sea and billows of fire, a sky and clouds of flame; mountains of red rolling flames, like immense waves of the sea, alternately bursting forth and elevating themselves to skies of fire, and then sinking into the ocean of flame below. Oh, it was the most grand, the most sublime, and the most terrific sight the world ever beheld!

HIS RELIGION.

I observed, that in England there were different opinions about his faith; that some had latterly supposed him to be a Roman Catholic. "*Ebbene*," replied he. "*Credo tutto quel che crede la chiesa*." (I believe all that the church believes.) "I used," continued he, "to make the bishop of Nantes dispute with the Pope frequently in my presence. He wanted to re-establish the monks. My bishop used to tell him that the emperor had no objection to persons being monks in their hearts, but that he objected to allowing any society of them to exist publicly. The Pope wanted me to confess, which I always evaded by saying, 'Holy father (*santo padre*), I am too much occupied at present. When I get older.' I took a pleasure in conversing with the Pope, who was a good old man, *ma testardo*, (though obstinate.)"

"There are so many different religions," continued he, "or modifications of them, that it is difficult to know which to choose. If one religion had existed from the beginning of the world, I should think that to be the true one. As it is, I am of opinion that every person ought to continue in the religion in which he was brought up; in that of his fathers. What are you?" "A protestant," I replied. "Was your father so?" I said, "Yes." "Then continue in that belief."

"In France," continued he, "I received Catholics and Protestants alike at my levee. I paid their ministers alike. I gave the Protestants a fine church at Paris, which had formerly belonged to the Jesuits. In order to prevent any religious quarrels in places where there were both Catholic and Protestant churches, I prohibited them from tolling the bells to summon the people to worship in their respective churches, unless the ministers of the one

one and the other made a specific request for permission to do so, and stating that it was at the desire and request of the members of each religion. Permission was then given for a year, and if at the expiration of that year the demand was not renewed by both parties again, it was not continued. By these means, I prevented the squabbles which had previously existed, as the Catholic priests found that they could not have their own bells tolled, unless the Protestants had a similar privilege."

ANIMALS AND VEGETABLES.

"There is a link between animals and the Deity. Man," added he, "is merely a more perfect animal than the rest. He reasons better. But how do we know that animals have not a language of their own? My opinion is, that it is presumption in us to say no, because we do not understand them. A horse has memory, knowledge, and love. He knows his master from the servants, though the latter are more constantly with him. I had a horse myself, who knew me from any other person, and manifested, by capering and proudly marching with his head erect, when I was on his back, his knowledge that he bore a person superior to the others by whom he was surrounded. Neither would he allow any other person to mount him, except one groom, who constantly took care of him, and, when rode by him, his motions were far different, and such as seemed to say that he was conscious he bore an inferior. When I lost my way, I was accustomed to throw the bridle down his neck, and he always discovered it in places where I, with all my observation and boasted superior knowledge, could not. Who can deny the sagacity of dogs? There is a link between all animals. Plants are so many animals who eat and drink, and there are gradations up to man, who is only the most perfect of them all. The same spirit animates them all in a greater or a lesser degree."

BLUCHER.

"Blucher," said he, "is a very brave soldier," *un bon sabreur*. He is like a bull who shuts his eyes, and, seeing no danger, rushes on. He committed a thousand faults; and, had it not been for circumstances, I could repeatedly have made him and the greatest part of his army prisoners. He is stubborn and indefatigable, afraid of nothing, and very much attached to his country; but, as a general, he is without talent. I recollect, that, when I was in Prussia, he

dined at my table after he had surrendered, and he was then considered to be an ordinary character."

DIFFERENT SOLDIERS.

I asked his opinion relative to the comparative merit of the Russians, Prussians, and Germans. Napoleon replied, "Soldiers change, sometimes brave, sometimes *lâches*. I have seen the Russians at Eylau perform prodigies of valour: they were so many heroes. At Moscow, entrenched up to their necks, they allowed me to beat two hundred and fifty thousand men with ninety thousand. At Jena, and at other battles in that campaign, the Prussians fled like sheep; since that time they have fought bravely. My opinion is, that now, the Prussian soldier is superior to the Austrian. The French cuirassiers were the best cavalry in the world *pour enfoncer l'infanterie*. Individually, there is no horseman superior, or perhaps equal, to the Mameluke; but they cannot act in a body. As partizans, the Cossacs excel, and the Poles as lancers." This he said in reply to a question made by me of his opinion relative to the cavalry.—I asked who he thought was the best general amongst the Austrians. "Prince Charles," he replied, "though he has committed a thousand faults. As to Schwartzemberg, he is not fit to command six thousand men."

MURAT.

"Those Neapolitans," continued he, "are the most vile *canaglie* in the world. Murat ruined me by advancing against the Austrians with them. When old Ferdinand heard of it, he laughed, and said, in his jargon, that they would serve Murat as they had done him before, when Championet dispersed a hundred thousand of them like so many sheep, with ten thousand Frenchmen. I had forbidden Murat to act; as, after I returned from Elba, there was an understanding between the Emperor of Austria and me, that, if I gave him up Italy, he would not join the coalition against me. This I had promised, and would have fulfilled it; but that *imbécile*, in spite of the direction I had given him to remain quiet, advanced with his rabble into Italy, where he was blown away like a puff. The Emperor of Austria seeing this, concluded directly that it was by my orders, and that I deceived him; and being conscious that he had betrayed me himself before, he supposed that I did not intend to keep faith with him, and determined to endeavour to crush me with all his forces." Twice Murat betrayed

betrayed and ruined me. Before, when he forsook me, joined the allies with sixty thousand men, and obliged me to leave thirty thousand in Italy, when I wanted them so much elsewhere. At that time, his army was well officered by French. Had it not been for this rash step of Murat's, the Russians would have retreated, as their intentions were not to have advanced, if Austria did not join the coalition; so that you would have been left to yourselves, and have gladly made a peace."

PEACE WITH ENGLAND.

He observed that he had always been willing to make a peace with England. "Let your ministers say what they like," said he, "I was always ready to make a peace. At the time that Fox died, there was every prospect of effecting one. If Lord Lauderdale had been sincere at first, it would also have been concluded. Before the campaign in Prussia, I caused it to be signified to him, that he had better get his countrymen to make peace, as I would be master of Prussia in two months; for this reason, that although Russia and Prussia united might be able to oppose me, yet that Prussia alone could not. That the Russians were three months' march distant; and that, as I had intelligence that their plan of campaign was to defend Berlin, instead of retiring, in order to obtain the support of the Russians, I would destroy their army, and take Berlin before the Russians came up, who alone I would easily defeat afterwards. I therefore advised him to take advantage of my offer of peace, before Prussia, who was your best friend on the continent, was destroyed. After this communication, I believe that Lord Lauderdale was sincere, and that he wrote to your ministers recommending peace: but they would not agree to it, thinking that the King of Prussia was at the head of a hundred thousand men; that I might be defeated, and that a defeat would be my ruin. This was possible. A battle sometimes decides every thing; and sometimes the most trifling thing decides the fate of a battle. The event, however, proved that I was right, as, after Jena, Prussia was mine. After Tilsit and at Erfurth," continued he, "a letter containing proposals of peace to England, and signed by the Emperor Alexander and myself, was sent to your ministers, but they would not accept of them."

SPAIN.

In answer to a remark of mine, that

the invasion of Spain had been a measure very destructive to him, he replied, "If the government I established had remained, it would have been the best thing that ever happened for Spain. I would have regenerated the Spaniards; I would have made them a great nation. Instead of a feeble, imbecile, and superstitious race of Bourbons, I would have given them a new dynasty, that would have no claim on the nation, except by the good it would have rendered unto it. For an hereditary race of asses, they would have had a monarch, with ability to revive the nation, sunk under the yoke of superstition and ignorance. Perhaps it is better for France that I did not succeed, as Spain would have been a formidable rival. I would have destroyed superstition and priestcraft, and abolished the inquisition and the monasteries of those lazy *bestie di frati*. I would at least have rendered the priests harmless. The guerillas, who fought so bravely against me, now lament their success. When I was last in Paris, I had letters from Mina, and many other leaders of the guerillas, craving assistance to expel their *friar* from the throne."

TALLEYRAND.

On asking his opinion of Talleyrand, "Talleyrand," said he, "*le plus vil des agioteurs, bas flatteur. C'est un homme corrompu*, who has betrayed all parties and persons. Wary and circumspect; always a traitor, but always in conspiracy with fortune, Talleyrand treats his enemies as if they were one day to become his friends; and his friends, as if they were to become his enemies. He is a man of talent, but venal in every thing. Nothing could be done with him but by means of bribery. The kings of Wirtemberg and Bavaria made so many complaints of his rapacity and extortion, that I took his portfeuille from him: moreover I found that he had divulged, to some *intrigants*, a most important secret which I had confided to him alone. He hates the Bourbons in his heart. When I returned from Elba, Talleyrand wrote to me from Vienna, offering his services, and to betray the Bourbons, provided I would pardon and restore him to favour. He argued upon a part of my proclamation, in which I said there were circumstances which it was impossible to resist, which he quoted. But I considered that there were a few I was obliged to except, and refused, as it would have excited indignation if I had not punished somebody."

I asked if it were true that Talleyrand had

had advised him to dethrone the King of Spain, and mentioned that the Duke of Rovigo had told me that Talleyrand had said in his presence, "Your majesty will never be secure upon your throne, while a Bourbon is seated upon one." He replied, "True, he advised me to do every thing which would injure the Bourbons, whom he detests."

HIS WOUNDS.

Napoleon shewed me the marks of two wounds: one a very deep cicatrice above the left knee, which he said he had received in his first campaign of Italy, and was of so serious a nature, that the surgeons were in doubt whether it might not be ultimately necessary to amputate. He observed, that when he was wounded, it was always kept a secret, in order not to discourage the soldiers. The other was on the toe, and had been received at Eckmühl. "At the siege of Acre," continued he, "a shell, thrown by Sidney Smith, fell at my feet. Two soldiers, who were close by, seized, and closely embraced me, one in front and the other on one side, and made a rampart of their bodies for me, against the effect of the shell, which exploded, and overwhelmed us with sand. We sunk into the hole formed by its bursting; one of them was wounded. I made them both officers. One has since lost a leg at Moscow, and commanded at Vincennes when I left Paris. When he was summoned by the Russians, he replied, that, as soon as they sent him back the leg he had lost at Moscow, he would surrender the fortress. Many times in my life," continued he, "have I been saved by soldiers and officers throwing themselves before me when I was in the most imminent danger. At Arcola, when I was advancing, Colonel Meuron, my aid-de-camp, threw himself before me, covered me with his body, and received the wound which was destined for me. He fell at my feet, and his blood spouted up in my face. He gave his life to preserve mine. Never yet, I believe, has there been such devotion shewn by soldiers as mine have manifested for me. In all my misfortunes, never has the soldier, even when expiring, been wanting to me—never has man been served more faithfully by his troops. With the last drop of blood gushing out of their veins, they exclaimed, *Vive l'Empereur!*"

DUROC.

Mentioned to the emperor that I had been informed he had saved Maréchal Duroc's life, when seized and condemn-

ed to death as an emigrant, during his first campaigns in Italy; which was asserted to have been the cause of the great attachment subsequently displayed by Duroc to him until the hour of his death. Napoleon looked surprised, and replied, "No such thing—who told you that tale?" I said, that I had heard the Marquis Montchenu repeat it at a public dinner. "There is not a word of truth in it," replied Napoleon. "I took Duroc out of the artillery train, when he was a boy, and protected him until his death. But I suppose Montchenu said this, because Duroc was of an old family, which in that booby's eyes is the only source of merit. He despises every body who has not as many hundred years of nobility to boast of as himself. It was such as Montchenu who were the chief cause of the revolution. Before it, such a man as Bertrand, who is worth an army of Montchenus, could not even be a *sous-lieutenant*, while *vieils enfants* like him would be generals. God help," continued he, "the nation that is governed by such. In my time, most of the generals, of whose deeds France is so proud, sprung from that very class of plebeians so much despised by him."

COUNT BLACAS.

"When in Paris, after my return from Elba, I found in M. Blacas's private papers, which he left behind when he ran away from the Tuilleries, a letter which had been written in Elba by one of my sister Pauline's chamber-maids, and appeared to have been composed in a moment of anger. Pauline is very handsome and graceful. There was a description of her habits, of her dress, her wardrobe, and of every thing that she liked; of how fond I was of contributing to her happiness; and that I had superintended the furnishing of her *boudoir* myself; what an extraordinary man I was; that one night I had burnt my finger dreadfully, and had merely poured a bottle of ink over it without appearing to regard the pain, and many little *bêtises*, true enough perhaps. This letter M. Blacas had got interpolated with horrid stories; in fact, insinuating that I slept with my sister; and in the margin, in the hand-writing of the interpolator, was written—to be printed."

ENGLAND.

He then spoke about the distress prevailing in England, and said, that it was caused by the abuses of the ministry. "You have done wonders," said he; "you have effected impossibilities, I may

may say; but I think that England, encumbered with a national debt, which will take forty years of peace and commerce to pay off, may be compared to a man who has drunk large quantities of brandy to give him courage and strength; but afterwards, weakened by the stimulus which had imparted energy for the moment, he totters and finally falls; his powers entirely exhausted by the unnatural means used to excite them."

PRUSSIA.

"I gave Hanover to the Prussians," continued he, "on purpose to embroil them with you, produce a war, and shut you out from the continent. The King of Prussia was blockhead enough to believe that he could keep Hanover, and still remain at peace with you. He made war upon me afterwards, like a madman, induced by the queen and prince Louis, with some other young men, who persuaded him that Prussia was strong enough, even without Russia. A few weeks convinced him of the contrary."

DIFFERENT SOVEREIGNS.

He eulogized the king of Saxony, who he said was a truly good man; the king of Bavaria, a plain good man; the king of Wirtemberg, a man of considerable talent, but unprincipled and wicked. "Alexander and the latter," said he, "are the only sovereigns in Europe possessed of talents."

JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

Napoleon conversed about his brother Joseph, whom he described as being a most excellent character. "His virtues and talents are those of a private character; and for such, nature intended him: he is too good to be a great man. He has no ambition. He is very like me in person, but handsomer. He is extremely well informed, but his learning is not that which is fitted for a king; nor is he capable of commanding an army."

MOREAU.

"Moreau," said he, "was an excellent general of division, but not fit to command a large army."

DESAIX AND KLEBER.

Of all the generals I ever had under me, Desaix and Kleber possessed the greatest talents; especially Desaix, as Kleber only loved glory, inasmuch as it was the means of procuring him riches and pleasures; whereas Desaix loved glory for itself, and despised every thing else. Desaix was wholly wrapt up in war and glory. To him riches and pleasure were valueless, nor did he give them

a moment's thought. He was a little black-looking man, about an inch shorter than I am, always badly dressed, sometimes even ragged, and despising comfort or convenience. When in Egypt, I made him a present of a complete field-equipage several times, but he always lost it. Wrapt up in a cloak, Desaix threw himself under a gun, and slept as contentedly as if he were in a palace. For him luxury had no charms. Upright and honest in all his proceedings, he was called by the Arabs, *the just sultan*. He was intended by nature for a great general. Kleber and Desaix were a loss irreparable to France. Had Kleber lived, your army in Egypt would have perished. Had that imbecile Menou attacked you on your landing with twenty thousand men, as he might have done, instead of the division Lanusse, your army would have been only a meal for them. Your army was seventeen or eighteen thousand strong, without cavalry." Asked him if it were true that Desaix had, a little before his death, sent a message of the following purport to him. "Tell the first consul, that I regret dying before I have done sufficient to make my name known to posterity." Napoleon replied, "it was true," and accompanied it with some warm eulogiums on Desaix.

LASNES.

"Lasnes, when I first took him by the hand, was an ignorantaccio. His education had been much neglected. However, he improved greatly; and to judge from the astonishing progress he made, he would have been a general of the first class. He had great experience in war. He had been in fifty-four pitched battles, and in three hundred combats of different kinds. He was a man of uncommon bravery; cool in the midst of fire; and possessed of a clear, penetrating eye, ready to take advantage of any opportunity which might present itself. Violent and hasty in his expressions, sometimes even in my presence, he was ardently attached to me. In the midst of his anger he would not suffer any person to join him in his remarks. On that account, when he was in a cholerick mood, it was dangerous to speak to him, as he used to come to me in his rage, and say, that such and such persons were not to be trusted. As a general, he was greatly superior to Moreau, or to Soult."

MASSENA.

"Massena," said he, "was a man of superior talent. He generally, however,

ever, made bad dispositions previous to a battle; and it was not until the dead began to fall about him, that he began to act with that judgment which he ought to have displayed before. In the midst of the dying and the dead, of balls sweeping away those who encircled him, then Massena was himself; gave his orders, and made his dispositions with the greatest *sang froid* and judgment. This is true nobleness of blood. It was truly said of Massena, that he never began to act with judgment until the battle was going against him. He was, however, *un voleur*. He went halves along with the contractors and commissaries of the army. I signified to him often, that if he would discontinue his speculations, I would make him a present of eight hundred thousand, or a million of francs; but he had acquired such a habit, that he could not keep his hands from money. On this account he was hated by the soldiers, who mutinied against him three or four times. However, considering the circumstances of the times, he was precious; and had not his bright parts been soiled with the vice of avarice, he would have been a great man."

PICHEGRU.

"Pichegru," continued Napoleon, "was *répétiteur* at Brienne, and instructed me in mathematics, when I was about ten years old. He possessed considerable knowledge in that science. As a general, Pichegru was a man of no ordinary talent, far superior to Moreau, although he had never done any thing extraordinarily great, as the success of the campaigns in Holland was in a great measure owing to the battle of Fleurus. Pichegru, after he had united himself to the Bourbons, sacrificed the lives of upwards of twenty thousand of his soldiers, by throwing them purposely into the enemy's hands, whom he had informed before hand of his intentions."

ALEXANDER.

Asked his opinion of the Emperor Alexander, "*C'est un homme extrêmement faux. Un Grec du bas empire,*" replied Napoleon. "He is the only one of the three,* who has any talent. He is plausible, a great dissimulator, very ambitious, and a man who studies to make himself popular. It is his foible to believe himself skilled in the art of war, and he likes nothing so well as to be complimented upon it, though every thing that originated with himself rela-

* Alexander, Francis, and the king of Prussia.

tive to military operations, was ill-judged and absurd. At Tilsit, Alexander and the King of Prussia used frequently to occupy themselves in contriving dresses for dragoons; debating upon what button the crosses of the orders ought to be hung, and such other fooleries. They fancied themselves on an equality with the best generals in Europe, because they knew how many rows of buttons there were upon a dragoon's jacket. I could scarcely keep from laughing sometimes, when I heard them discussing these *coglionerie* with as much gravity and earnestness as if they were planning an impending action between two hundred thousand men. However, I encouraged them in their arguments, as I saw it was their weak point. We rode out every day together. The king of Prussia was *un bête*, *et nous a tellement ennuyé*; that Alexander and myself frequently galloped away in order to get rid of him."

HIS RISE IN LIFE.

Napoleon afterwards recounted to me some part of his early life: said, that after having been at school at Brienne, he was sent to Paris, at the age of fifteen or sixteen; "where, at the general examination," continued he, "being found to have given the best answers in mathematics, I was appointed to the artillery. After the revolution, about one-third of the artillery officers emigrated, and I became *chef de bataillon* at the siege of Toulon; having been proposed by the artillery officers themselves as the person who, amongst them, possessed the most knowledge of the science. During the siege, I commanded the artillery, directed the operations against the town, and took O'Hara prisoner, as I formerly told you. After the siege, I was made commandant of the artillery of the army of Italy, and my plans caused the capture of many considerable fortresses in Switzerland and Italy. On my return to Paris, I was made general, and the command of the army in La Vendée offered to me, which I refused, and replied that such a command was only fit for a general of gendarmerie. On the 13th of Vendémiaire, I commanded the army of the convention in Paris against the sections, whom I defeated, after an action of a few minutes. Subsequently I got the command of the army of Italy, where I established my reputation. Nothing," continued he, "has been more simple than my elevation. It was not the result of intrigue or crime. It was owing to the peculiar circumstances

circumstances of the times, and because I fought successfully against the enemies of my country. *What is most extraordinary, and I believe unparalleled in history, is; that I rose from being a private person, to the astonishing height of power I possessed, without having committed a single crime to obtain it. If I were on my death-bed, I could make the same declaration.*"

THE REVOLUTIONISTS.

Heard him express some sentiments afterwards relative to a few of the characters who had figured in the revolution. "Robespierre," said he, "though a blood-thirsty monster was not so bad as Collot d'Herbois, Billaud de Varennes, Hebert, Fouquier Tinville, and many others. Latterly Robespierre wished to be more moderate; and actually, some time before his death, said that he was tired of executions, and suggested moderation. When Hebert accused the queen *de contrarier la nature*, Robespierre proposed that he should be denounced, as having made such an improbable accusation purposely to excite a sympathy amongst the people, in order that they might rise and rescue her. From the beginning of the revolution, Louis had constantly the life of Charles the First before his eyes. The example of Charles, who had come to extremities with the parliament, and lost his head, prevented Louis on many occasions from making the defence which he ought to have done against the revolutionists. When brought to trial, he ought merely to have said, that by the laws he could do no wrong, and that his person was sacred. The queen ought to have done the same. It would have had no effect in saving their lives; but they would have died with more dignity. Robespierre was of opinion that the king ought to have been dispatched privately. 'What is the use,' said Robespierre, 'of this mockery of forms, when you go to the trial prepared to condemn him to death, whether he deserves it or not.' The queen," added Napoleon, "went to the scaffold with some sensations of joy; and truly it must have been a relief to her to depart from a life in which she was treated with such execrable barbarity. Had I," continued he, "been four or five years older, I have no doubt that I should have been guillotined along with numbers of others."

ENGLAND AND ITS POLICY.

Dec. 8th.—Conversed at length about the situation of England, which he imputed entirely to the imbecility of Lord

Castlereagh. "If," said he, "your ministers had paid attention to the interests of the country, instead of intriguing, they would have rendered you the most happy and the most flourishing nation in the world. At the conclusion of the war, they should have said to the Spanish and Portuguese governments, 'we have saved your country, we alone have supported you, and prevented you from falling a prey to France. We have made many campaigns, and shed our best blood in your cause. We have expended many millions of money, and consequently the country is overburdened with debt on your account, which we must pay. You have the means of repaying us. Our situation requires that we should liquidate our debts. We demand, therefore, that we shall be the only nation allowed to trade with South America for twenty years; and that our ships shall have the same privilege as Spanish vessels. In this way we will reimburse ourselves, without distressing you.' Who," continued he, "could say no to this? France is now nothing. Besides, to tell the truth, it would be only a just demand, and none of the allied powers could deny your right to exact it; for it was through you alone, and the energy which you displayed, that both Spain and Portugal did not fall. As it now is, France will soon have the trade of the Brazils; as you have in your own colonies more cotton and sugar than you want, and consequently will not take the productions of the Brazils in exchange for your merchandize. Now the French will; as Martinique cannot supply a quantity sufficient for the consumption of France. They will exchange their manufactured goods, silks, furniture, wines, &c. against the colonial produce, and soon have the whole trade of the Brazils. In like manner they will have the preference in trading with the Spanish colonies; partly on account of the religion, and also because the Spaniards, like other nations, are jealous of a people all-powerful at sea, and will constantly assist to lessen that power; which is most effectually to be done by lessening your commerce. Your ministers have had false ideas of things. They imagined that they could inundate the continent with your merchandize, and find a ready sale. No, no: the world is now more illuminated. Even the Russians will say, 'why should we enrich this nation, to enable her to keep up a monopoly and tyranny of the seas, while our own manufacturers are

are numerous and skilful.' You will," continued he, "find that in a few years very little English merchandize will be sold on the continent. I gave a new era to manufactories. The French already excel you in the manufactory of cloths and many other articles. The Hollanders in cambric and linen. I formed several thousand. I established the *Ecole Polytechnique*, from which hundreds of able chemists went to the different manufactories. In each of them, I caused a person well skilled in chemistry to reside. In consequence, every thing proceeded upon certain and established principles; and they had a reason to give for every part of their operations, instead of the old vague and uncertain mode. Times are changed," continued Napoleon, "and you must no longer look to the continent for the disposal of your manufactures. America, the Spanish and Portuguese main, are the only vent for them. Recollect what I say to you. In a year or two your people will complain, and say, 'we have gained every thing, but we are starving: we are worse than we were during the war.' England has played for all or for nothing, (*hagiucato per tutto o per niente*). She has gained all, effected impossibilities, yet has nothing; and her people are starving, and worse than they were during the midst of the war; while France, who has lost every thing, is doing well, and the wants of her people are abundantly supplied. France has got fat, notwithstanding the liberal bleedings which she has had; while England is like a man who has had a false momentary strength given to him by intoxicating liquors, but who, after their effect, sinks into a state of debility."

SIR THOMAS READE.

Saw Sir Thomas Reade, to whom I mentioned Napoleon's answer relative to the interview which the governor was desirous to obtain for Sir Thomas Strange. Sir Thomas replied, "If I were governor, I'll be d——d if I would not make him feel that he was a prisoner." I observed, "Why, you cannot do much more to him than you have already done, unless you put him in irons." "Oh," answered Reade, "if he did not comply with what I wanted, I'll be d——d if I wouldn't take his books from him, which I'll advise the governor to do. He is a d——d outlaw and a prisoner, and the governor has a right to treat him with as much severity as he likes, and nobody has any business to in-

terfere with him in the execution of his duty."

PROSPECTS OF FRANCE.

He conversed upon the probability of a revolution in France. "Ere twenty years have elapsed, when I am dead and buried," said he, "you will witness another revolution in France. It is impossible that twenty-nine millions of Frenchmen can live contented under the yoke of sovereigns imposed upon them by foreigners, and against whom they have fought and bled for nearly thirty years. Can you blame the French for not being willing to submit to the yoke of such animals as Montchenu? You are very fond in England of making a comparison between the restoration of Charles II. and that of Louis; but there is not the smallest similitude. Charles was recalled by the mass of the English nation to the throne which his successor afterwards lost for a mass: but as to the Bourbons, there is not a village in France which has not lost thirty or forty of the flower of its youth in endeavouring to prevent their return. The sentiments of the nation are,—'We have not brought back those wretches; no, those who have ravaged our country, burnt our houses, and violated our wives and our daughters, have placed them on the throne by force.'"

DEATH OF MOREAU.

"In the battle before Dresden," said Napoleon, "I ordered an attack to be made upon the allies by both flanks of my army. While the manœuvres for this purpose were executing, the centre remained motionless. At the distance of about from this to the outer gate, (about 500 yards,) I observed a group of persons collected together on horseback. Concluding that they were endeavouring to observe my manœuvres, I resolved to disturb them, and called to a captain of artillery, who commanded a field battery of eighteen or twenty pieces: throw a dozen of bullets at once into that group; perhaps there are some little generals in it. It was done instantly. One of the balls struck Moreau, carried off both his legs, and went through his horse. Many more, I believe, who were near him, were killed and wounded. A moment before Alexander had been speaking to him, Moreau's legs were amputated not far from the spot. One of his feet, with the boot upon it, which the surgeon had thrown upon the ground,

* One of the commissioners,

was brought by a peasant to the king of Saxony, with information that some officer of great distinction had been struck by a cannon shot. The king, conceiving that the name of the person might perhaps be discovered by the boot, sent it to me. It was examined at my head-quarters, but all that could be ascertained was, that the boot was neither of English nor of French manufacture. The next day we were informed that it was the leg of Moreau. It is not a little extraordinary," continued Napoleon, "that in an action a short time afterwards, I ordered the same artillery officer, with the same guns, and under nearly similar circumstances, to throw eighteen or twenty bullets at once into a concourse of officers collected together, by which General St. Priest, another Frenchman, a traitor and a man of talent, who had a command in the Russian army, was killed, along with many others. Nothing," continued the emperor, "is more destructive than a discharge of a dozen or more guns at once amongst a group of persons. From one or two they may escape; but from a number discharged at a time, it is almost impossible."

HIS PROSPECT OF DEATH.

Dec. 14.—Napoleon very unwell. Had passed a very bad night. Found him in bed at eleven, p. m. "Doctor," said he, "I had a nervous attack last night, which kept me continually uneasy and restless; with a severe head-ach, and involuntary agitations. I was without sense for a few moments. I verily thought and hoped, that a more violent attack would have taken place, which would have carried me off before morning. I seemed as if a fit of apoplexy was coming on. I felt a heaviness and giddiness of my head, (as if it were overloaded with blood,) with a desire to put myself in an upright posture. I felt a heat in my head, and called to those about me to pour some cold water over it, which they did not comprehend for some time. Afterwards, the water felt hot, and I thought it smelt of sulphur, though in reality it was cold." At this time he was in a free perspiration, which I recommended him to encourage, and his head-ach was much diminished. After I had recommended every thing I thought necessary or advisable, he replied, "One would live too long." He afterwards spoke about funeral rites, and added, that when he died, he would wish that his body might

be burned. "It is the best mode," said he, "as then the corpse does not produce any inconvenience; and as to the resurrection, that must be accomplished by a miracle, and it is easy to the Being who has it in his power to perform such a miracle as bringing the remains of the bodies together, to also form again the ashes of the dead."

I mentioned to his excellency, the fit of syncope with which Napoleon had been attacked: "It would be lucky," replied Sir Hudson Lowe, "if he went off some of those nights in a fit of the kind." I observed, that I thought it very probable that he would be attacked with a fit of apoplexy, which would finish him, and that, continuing to lead his present mode of life, it was impossible he could remain in health. Sir Hudson asked, what could induce him to take exercise? I replied, to moderate the restrictions, and to remove some of which he complained so much. Sir Hudson Lowe made some observations about the danger of allowing a man to get loose who had done such mischief already.

HIS REPINING.

"What a fool I was to give myself up to you," continued he; "I had a mistaken notion of your national character; I had formed a romantic idea of the English. There entered into it also a portion of pride. I disdained to give myself up to any of those sovereigns whose countries I had conquered, and whose capitals I had entered in triumph; and I determined to confide in you, whom I had never vanquished. Doctor, I am well punished for the good opinion I had of you, and for the confidence which I reposed in you, instead of giving myself up to my father-in-law, or to the emperor Alexander, either of whom would have treated me with the greatest respect." I observed, that it was possible that Alexander might have sent him to Siberia; "Not at all," replied Napoleon, "setting aside other motives, Alexander would, through policy, and from the desire which he has to make himself popular, have treated me like a king, and I should have had palaces at command. Besides, Alexander is a generous man, and would have taken a pleasure in treating me well; and my father-in-law, though he is an imbecile, is still a religious man, and incapable of committing crimes, or such acts of cruelty as are practised here."

CHRONICLES OF ERI;

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or,

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Translated from the original Manuscripts in the
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[Mr. O'Connor's work must be regarded as one of the most original and extraordinary which the printing-press ever brought before the world. Its early chapters were written in the age of Moses, and it records events coeval with the entire book of Genesis; while it illustrates and explains the real nature of many of the events, which a love of the marvellous and mis-translations have converted into miracles. It then continues the history of the *Gaal Sciot Iber*, through above a thousand years, by authoritative eye-witnesses of the events recorded; i. e. through the entire period of Grecian and early Roman history; but without any reference to those people who mingled not with the *Gaal Sciot Iber*. Nor is it a mere dry history, but it is intermingled with episodes like Genesis, and with poetical sentiments like Ossian. To the whole, Mr. O'Connor has prefixed full and very elaborate dissertations in proof of the authenticity of the work, (of which, however, internal evidence is sufficient proof,) and in illustration of the history of the nations which preceded the Greeks and Romans. In this task he has acquitted himself with a degree of talent and erudition, equal to the grandeur of his object, though not unmixed with prejudices of his own. It may be worthy of remark, as an answer to superficial or vulgar flippancy, that these MSS. have no relation whatever to the fables which the monks have imposed on the world as early Irish history; but are directly opposed to them, as well in substance as in pretension and character. Nor must the author be confounded with his younger brother, General Arthur O'Connor, whose political tergiversations have created so much animadversion, and whose relationship with Marshal Grouchy will furnish a clue to historians of our times, relative to the true character of the "glories" of the day of Waterloo. He is, as he states, the head of his race, one who never compromised his principles, though his life has often been endangered by his inflexibility; which inflexibility will, we suspect, in some degree interfere even with the interests and object of the present work.]

THE WRITINGS OF EOLUS.

PART THE FIRST.—CHAPTER I.

WISDOM, thou art to be preferred to all things, to impart wisdom is the duty of all men. He who possesseth wisdom, and neglecteth to instruct others, hoardeth what should be shared; it is a treasure that may be lavishly bestowed, without injury to the donor; yea, the donor enricheth himself by the gift.

Wisdom is the knowledge of truth direct, without doubt.

Hearken, my son, to the words of our great fathers; from them our fathers heard the lessons of wisdom in the words of truth, passed by them to us that now be, and from us to be delivered to those who are to come; so, till time of this earth shall be no more, which will not be till Baal shall withdraw the light of his countenance, the fire of his spirit, from the children of this world.

Many are the truths still hidden from man; who can declare at what time the waters were rolled from off this earth?—none. Who hath informed man how he was made?—how long his dwelling was in the bosom of the vast deep?—how or when he ceased to breathe in that element?—none.

Who hath disclosed the first dimensions of all things? Who hath noted the degrees of their decrease? Who can tell—by what means can man now discover the causes of the production of all things?

It is said that Baal formed every thing from the earth, the water, and the air, and into man alone breathed the spirit of fire, pure essence of himself, the effect whereof is reason.

Thus is it said, who knoweth how truly? with whom did Baal hold talk?—at what time did he draw nigh unto the children of men? which one of the sons of man did ever approach Baal? who is he that ever heard the sound of the voice of Baal, that he could distinguish the words of his breath? doth Baal speak aloud to make man affear'd? who can tell his words?—none.

Man imagineth—Are the thoughts which he divulgeth to his fellow just?

For myself I ask, and none can tell, how came Baal himself? is he not composed of materials the same as all other living beings, his huge dimensions, his might and power, effects of combinations unknown to man?

Many are the things beyond the reason which man possesseth: he may fancy—what availeth fancy? it is of no avail;

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avail; reason and wisdom reject such, as misconceptions of vanity.

Man would be thought to know all things, even of the air, and for lack of wisdom flyeth to deceitful fancy, the vain, the ignorant, the credulous is one, —wisdom, truth, and reason is one other.

My Son,—Do thy utmost to attain to the certain knowledge of things of this world within the scope of thy understanding. List not to idle dreams of airy fantasy; contemplate ever so deeply on things thy senses cannot reach, all thy contemplations will come round to the point whereat they commence;—Where?—They commenced in fancy—in fancy they will end.

Are there not things in abundance level with thy comprehension worthy of all thy care?—Hast thou not parents—the father who begat—the mother who bared and suckled, tenderly reared thee up, anxiously watched over thy helpless state—Hast thou none of thy mother's womb—no partner of thy secret thoughts—hast thou no children—are no friends thine?—

Hast thou not a name to be spoken of now,—to be remembered in after times?—how great the joy to hear the voice of praise raised in memory of our forefathers—what glory to the race—what an exultation to all those descended from their loins!

Hard hath been the lot of him, whose spirit hath taken its flight to mingle with its kindred elements, no mention made of him in times to come—untoward hath been the mind of him, who hath not left a trace of his existence amongst men—or to be remembered by reason only of his evil deeds.

How glorious to gain immortality, by having infused a portion of his spirit into the children of man, to abide on the earth for ever.

My Son,—Pursue not phantoms of imagination, study thyself—call to mind continually the materials of which thou art composed—if much of them is prone to the sluggishness of earth; the instability of water, the inconstancy of nimble air, remember the fire of thy spirit hath power to controul and direct, if thou wilt keep it pure.

Oh! that man should suffer his passions to subdue his reason, the fire of his spirit smothered, all but extinguished,—are earth, air, and water, more powerful than fire?—is matter more potent than spirit?

Why delighteth man to do what he

condemneth in another?—Why doth he unto his fellow, what he would not that his fellow should do unto him?

The heart of man is proud—he coveteth power and pre-eminence; he will gain them by deeds of evil, without reflection; he listeneth to the voice of the seducer, the false flattering tongue that betrayeth—unruled passions hurry him on—folly taketh dominion of such an one; reason hath departed from him, his spirit was weak.

My Son,—Let all thy actions be such, that when thy bulk shall be inanimate, thy spirit shall live for ever in the hearts of men.

My Son,—Hear the tale of times of old; hear of our race the renowned of the earth. What time our fathers marked not, is as the cloud that hath passed away, no note taken—no memorial preserved:

Let us speak of times measured by Baal in his circuit, as he moveth in his course to animate his children.

How glorious is Baal, how good, how provident; doth he not produce the fruits that sustain the life of man?—doth he not feed, and warm every living being?

Doth he not give light by day, and impart a portion of his splendour to his dwelling place to illumine the night, and mark the seasons?

How terrible is Baal in his anger, when he sendeth forth his messengers in fire, air, and water, and maketh the earth to tremble. All elements are his servants.

Hear of times marked—I have the rings of our fathers; they have noted the rings of their times: I will mark the rings of my days. Thou wilt mark those of thy days—so shall signs and seasons be perpetual.

Attend now, my Son—Our great fathers dwelt on the left side of the sun's rising, beyond the sources of the great waters. Of days marked whilst Baal performed one thousand and eleven circuits in his course.

Then did they spread themselves from the flood of Sgeind even to the banks of Teth-gris.

And when one thousand three hundred and four rings were completed, then did our fathers of these days pass to this side of Teth-gris, and moving towards the sun's going, reach to the Affreidg-eis, and they became lords of all the lands on this side, and on that, they outstretched their arms over all nations, with mercy.

And Absal, he it was who went out before

before the host, from the land of the elements of which our great fathers were formed.

And Daire was he who conducted the children of the land to this side Affreidg-eis—and the race of Daire were chiefs of the earth.

Attend again, my Son,—When twice nine hundred rings, and thrice three rings were marked on the banks of Affreidg-eis, a multitude from the sun's rising, beneath the land of the first abode of our great fathers, poured in upon the land of our fathers that then lived, like unto a swarm of locusts, or clouds of burning sands, yea even as a torrent of mighty waters, that overwhelmeth all things.

And the multitudes for numbers not to be counted, as the sands of the sea, as the stars of the heavens,—speaking with a thousand tongues diverse one from another—fierce and cruel, came over our fathers.

And many of the Gaal were made captives—and many lay in death, whose state was happier than that of his fellow.

And Ard-fear, chief of the race, and all the heads of the people who stood in the presence of the chief, dwelling round about the tents of Ard-fear, escaped from the edge of the sword of Eis Soir.

And Ard-fear floated on the bosom of Blessed Affreidg-eis, and the waters bare up his little skiff, till he lighted on the plain of Ard-mionu.

And all that went forth from Magh-sean-ar dwelled in Ard-mionu, and Ard-fear ruled that land as aforetime—but in person.

And the foemen of the east sheathed not the sword for one entire ring; and when one ring was complete there was peace.

And Eis Soir made the earth to groan for the weight which they laid on the places where theretofore had stood the tents of Ard-fear, and the heads of the Gaal.

Did they not raise up dwellings durable, and walls round about, and a watch tower to look over the land on every side?

And multitudes of the Gaal flocked to the tents of Ard-fear in Ard-mionu, and they increased exceedingly.

And when Ard-fear had ruled for the course of one score and eleven rings in Ard-mionu, then and there he died.

And all the children of the land aforetime, and of the Gaal, gathered themselves together, and they placed the bulk of Ard-fear in the boat, in which he was

borne from Magh-sean-ar even unto Ard-mionu on the waters of the Blessed Affreidg-eis.

And they set the boat on the spot where it had rested, when Ard-fear came therefrom unto the land.

And they raised the boat charged with the weight of the chief from the water, and it was conveyed on the shoulders of the nobles for the space of nine hundred paces, from the margin of the water, towards the sun's going.

And there was the boat in which lay the form of Ard-fear set down, and there was his heap raised—a memorial for ever.

And all the people moaned inwardly, and they poured forth lamentations loudly, invoking the spirit of Ard-fear, calling him Naoi, the chosen of Baal, for the preservation of the race of Absal and the Gaal-Nasi, whom the streams of Blessed Affreidg-eis did bear in safety to Ard-mionu.

CHAP. VI.—EOLUS.

Now Dalta, the first born of Enar, was not chosen, Eolus was placed on the seat of his father.

And Eolus, before he was chosen, whilst his father yet lived, had journeyed to Ib-er of our fathers, and to the land of Aoimag, to get knowledge; and his wish was to go even unto Magh-sean-ar, the abode of our great fathers, but the difficulties were greater than his desire.

And Eolus tarried one entire ring, and one Ratha in Sgadan, where he hath learned to set down all his thoughts in shapes and figures, for the eye of man.

I am that Eolus, the son of Enar, the son of Airt, of the race of Calma, from Ard-fear, who write down these words, for the instruction of those that now be, and of those who are yet to come.

To teach man to rule himself, that his reason may keep his passions in subjection continually, to tell to the chiefs, and the heads of the Gaal, and to the Gaal of their race, the renowned of the earth.

And these words have I written, as they have been repeated from mouth to ear, from generation to generation, and these times have I noted from the marks of the rings of Baal, and these words are true, according to the traditions of man as believed; but more correct are the times, being according to the revolutions of Baal, which cannot err.

But I, Eolus, have not set down the words said by the Priests, to have been delivered to the nine Priests by Baal, from the beginning, because my understanding cannot give entertainment there-
unto;

unto; my senses admit not the belief, that Baal hath at any time held talk with one of the children of this earth.

Afore priests were, have we not heard of the words spoken by the fathers to their children, as they listened to their voice, beneath the covering of the tents, each of his dwelling, ere the congregations were gathered together, round the habitations of the priests.

Then did each father declare unto those descended from his loins.

Give praise and thanks to Baal, the author of light and life.

Shed not the blood of thy fellow, without just cause.

Take not aught belonging unto another secretly.

Keep falsehood from thy lips—falsehood perverts justice.

Keep envy from thy heart—envy corrodes the spirit.

Keep flattery from thy tongue—flattery blinds the judgment.

Pay respect to thy father, conform thyself unto his will, be thou a sure prop to his old age.

Love, honor, and cherish thy mother, let thy hand wait on her eye—thy foot move in obedience to her voice; for the first pain that you causest to her, she was quit for the joy at thy coming forth, beware of bringing grief to thy mother's heart, the thought will sting thy spirit in the time to come.

Contend not with thy brother—unity becometh brethren.

Be loving and protecting unto thy sister.

Cherish the widow, nourish the orphan, deprived of his father, his staff, never more to hear a tender mother's voice.

Relieve the poor, the needy, and distressed; be kind, and minister unto the stranger far from the dwelling of his kindred.

Be merciful to every living creature.

Be watchful to keep thy passions in obedience to thy reason, in the first place; thereby wilt thou avoid doing unto another, what thou wouldst not have another do unto thee.

Preserve the glory of thy race, die, or live free.

What have these things to do with feeding fires, and looking after portions of the land.

And when Eolus had ruled nine rings, he placed Dalta his brother in his seat, and he did go to Sgadan, and he did abide there for one ring, and he did make a covenant with Ramah, chief of the land of Aoimag.

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And Ramah did send Olam to abide amongst the Gaal in Gael-ag, and the teachers of Aoimag did give knowledge unto the nobles, instructing them to hold talk one with another, from the land of Aoimag even unto Gael-ag.

Moreover men of Aoi-mag taught the Gael to form ships, wherein to move on the face of the deep.

And the Gael do help the children of Feine; in the bowels of the earth, in the land of Eiseine, for the children of Ib-er were cunning workmen in the land of their fathers, in searching for brass.

And Eolus did send nine of the sons of Ib-er, even the most wise of the children of the land, to make addition to the knowledge they had aforesaid.

And the men did return at the set time of three rings, and Eolus called together the chiefs of the Gael, to the great congregation, and he spake unto them saying,

“Man differeth nothing from the beast of the field, save in reason, but whereto serveth reason, if it receiveth not a right direction?”

“Hath man passions in common with all other animals, which oft consume him, reason instructed will controul them.

“Teachers are now amongst us—what if a portion of the land were assigned to each of the Olam in divers quarters, that they may live free from care, save that of instructing the youth in the ways of knowledge.—Gael-ag hath hitherto contained too few of the wise men of the earth.”

And it was so.—

And the Olam had their portions, and they did chuse from amongst them one; Tarlat the son of Leir, to be Ard-olam.

And Tarlat sware in the presence of the congregation to guard the writing, which Eolus did place within his hands, to set down words of the Gaal, to keep falsehood therefrom, and to preserve them during his days.

Now when Eolus had ruled for the course of eighteen rings, it came to pass that Ramah, chief of the children of the land of Aoi-mag died, and Amram his brother's son took his place.

SESOSTRIS.

Now it came to pass what time Eocaid had ruled seventeen rings, and ere one Rathra was complete, a mighty host from the sun's rising, rushed like a devouring flood, sweeping all nations; people were as streams, and brooks and rivers, that swell the sea to overwhelm the earth.

And the chief of all the nations was

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Sru,

Sru, and he spread his warriors over all the plains of Eiseine, and the Gael of Eiseine from Aoimag, and the Firgneat, and the Gaal of Buas-ce and Algeirba called on the name of Eocaid, the victorious, to lead them against the destroyer.

But nought could prevail against Sru-amac; ere the nations of Eiseine could gather themselves together, did Sru overthrow them, and with the remnant that he spared, did he swell his host.

And Eocaid called round him all the chiefs and warriors of renown to council, and all were of one mind to move forth of Gael-ag, to meet the foe.

And when the host of Gael-ag were within the distance of two days of the waters of the Duor, the priests did entreat Eocaid to tarry one day at Samur, that the congregation may purify themselves in the presence of Baal.

And Eocaid did listen unto the voice of the priests, and on the next day, as the warriors were in motion, did not those from the heads of the vale espy a cloud rising from the earth towards the heaven? And after a while the thousand thousands of the foemen appeared.

And the priests did again implore Eocaid to move back to Samur, and there to wait for the foe.

When Eocaid heard the voice of the priests speaking the words, his anger was kindled against them, and he said unto me, Ordac,

"Ordac, when thou shalt set down the words of the priests to Eocaid, and the words of Eocaid unto the priests, thou wilt say,

"And thus answered Eocaid, the son of Bille, chief of the Gaal of Sciota of Ib-er, unto the priests, "I will not go backward, tho' my face were still towards the foeman as I moved. Is Baal only in Samur?"

And Eocaid added moreover, "I thought to have encumbered Magdoraid with the weight of those we sent not for, as it is, as it is, let the words run from Eocaid thro' the host, "Warriors make treble the pace of thy feet, and the sound of thy voice tell Eocaid and Sru stand face to face."

And it was so.

And the battle was fought in all the plains between Samur and Duor; Eocaid, and all the chiefs, and all the Gaal fought, destroying, like a consuming fire; but what availeth fire against water? was not the fire of Ib-er extinguished by the stormy waves of the multitudes of Sru-amac?

Thousands of the Gaal lay on the earth; and Eocaid, O woe! thou fell into the arms of death on that unhappy day, and three sons of Go-lam, and chiefs in heaps lay round the weight of Eocaid.

On that day Sru overthrew Ib-er, and all the nations of Eiseine, and he took away captive of the youth, and drove away a huge prey of the cattle of the land.

Now is Gael-ag a desert, save of mourners. Behold Saib, the partner of Go-lam, lamenting her hero (the most renowned warrior of the race, since Og the son of Iat-foth) and three sons fallen in the battle.

Behold widows bewailing their elected.

Behold matrons lamenting their children, and maidens the youths of their promise, and the brethren of their fathers board.

On that day, when Baal had entered into the second chamber of his house Blath, did Eocaid fall, but not perish; his spirit will endure, his name will live in the memory of the children of the land for ever.

On that day was the pride of the tents of Gael-ag abased; when will their heads be raised up, and their locks, bedecked with garlands, dance to the sportive music of the winds again?

Ordac doth take the sun, and moon, and all the stars to witness, he would rather have fallen, numbered with the dead, and he that Ard-Olam then had been, had set down on the chronicles for the times to come, "And Go-lam returned with victory from the battle."

NOTE.

This prince of Gael-ag, whose proper name was Eocaid, is in the tales of the bards known by the name of Go-lam, and is also the Milesius of Latinity writers of the 15th centuries, from whom we Irish are ignorantly and absurdly called Milesians; he reigned, as you see, from 1025 to 1008, before the Christian era, when Sesostrius, the most ancient and Egyptian Hercules moving through Lybia, and the maritime nations of Afric, whom he overran, invaded Spain, which he subdued, whereon he imposed tribute, wherein he introduced idolatry, and erected columns, called the pillars of Hercules, in Spain and Afric, to perpetuate the memory of his exploits. The battle of Samur determined the fate of this people, and produced those events which will appear in the sequel of these chronicles.

EMIGRATION OF THE GAAL SCIOT IBER.

As though Sru had not brought enough affliction over the children of Iber, Baal now grew terrible, his wrath was kindled, he sent his fire through the land, the earth was scorched, the herbs were consumed, men and cattle perished—nor rain, nor yet dew come on the ground.

Therefore the chiefs, and all the heads of the people, and Olam, and priests, and Gaal, were called together to the great congregation of the people at Asti-cr-eis, to hold talk of times passed, and to think on what was fitting to be done.

The assembly being together, the high priest standing in the presence of the king said,

"What if Baal be invoked to cease from his wrath, and to look down with an eye of pity on the miseries of Gael-ag; perhaps the great Disposer will hear, and grant our supplications."

Whereupon Ith the son of Bille, the brother of Golam, the Prince of Breo-ccan, rose and said, "Chiefs of Ib-er Gael of Sciot, Are we worthy of our race, or have we declined therefrom? when Eissor came over our great fathers, that they could not stand against the foe, did they not quit the delightful land, watered by delicious streams, and move to the hills of Ard-mionn, saying, the lords of the earth that have been, will not be under tribute, are not the chilling winds the barren hills of Ard-mionn, and liberty, preferable even to the warm sun—the rich plains of Sean-ar calling man by the name of master, after the manner of Eis-sor?"

When Lonrac—what evil spirit of air breathed the foul thought in Lonrac's mind?—When Lonrac spoke of tribute—tribute from one to another of the race—when Lonrac spoke of tribute, unto File the son of Glas, since which day the name of Lonrac hath not been heard but in scorn, by the Gael of Sciot of Iber, even unto this; when Lonrac spoke unto File the son of Glas of tribute, what answer then did File make?

The answer that became a king;

The men of Iber will no tribute pay,
Should Lonrac hither come, with high hand to take
it off;

The way is far, and perhaps—

When in the time of Eolus the wise, the son of Feine was feeling artfully his way on errand of like sort, had not Eolus the words of File repeated unto Feine's ear? And now doth Sru, having darkened the air with voracious flocks

of ravens, gorged with the blood, yea, and with the flesh of the children of the land, as is said, but not as seen, by Ordac, to write the truth, their bare bones blanching on the surface of the earth unburied, send his servants to take off a prey, calling it tribute, for a master.

Can the warriors of Ib-er stand up against all these? So let us stand, if not —

The priests do say, "Ah, that Go-lam had listened to our voice, and measured back his steps e'en to Sa-mur, then would Baal have crowned him with victory, and conducted him in triumph to the tents of Asti-cr-eis."

And now Ard-Cruimtear saith, "Let us invoke Baal."

Let all the priests of all the nations of the earth stand on the margin of the Duor, and call on Baal to suffer the puny stream to impress great ocean, and force his mighty waves a distance from the land. Would Baal change—could Baal change—fixed laws for them?

Oh that Go-lam had not attended to the voice of the priests, and loitered on his course, and tarried e'en that one day at Samur, then had our warriors passed over the water, and met the foe forth of the land.

Children of Ib-er, hear the words of Ith.

What though the waters of the vast deep be terrible; is the desolation of water, air, or earth, yea of fire itself, so frightful to the Gael of Sciot, as the affliction of slavery?

Baal himself can destroy but once, so ceaseth anguish of body and of mind; the spirit of the victim then is free as its kindred elements, pure mixture of air and fire.

The body of the captive is wasted in lingering torture, his form is bent, and with his distorted shape is his soul depressed; like unto the overstrained bow, it loses its force, its use is at an end.

Oft hath my ship crossed the world of waters to Breotan. Upon a time, returning for Gael-ag, after hearing the complaints of the Gaal, my vessel was driven out of its course, towards the sun's going, till we reached a land of woods, a rough land; the people fled from our presence, though we were but few; we drank of the waters of that land.

Thither would Ith go; and he will return in time to shew the thither way to all who prefer dangers to slavery.

For himself, Ith, the son of Bille, the
brothe

brother of Eocaid Go-lam, will cease to live, or he will live free."

Now when Baal had been two days in the first chamber of his house Tionnsnad, and the watchmen of the ocean saw three ships coming towards the land, all Gael-ag flocked to the shore to meet the princes.

And as the ships were moving within the arms of the land, the air rung with the shouts of the Gaal.

The anchor cast, Lugad, the son of Ith, stood on the ground before Marcad, I Ordac nigh unto, when Marcad did say unto Lugad, wherefore do we not see Ith? hath he tarried after thee? how fareth Ith?

Lugad did place his hands upon his breast, his eyes bent on the earth dejectedly, then pointing to the vessel, whence he had come forth, he answered unto Marcad, "Ith is no more; my father that was, falleth to pieces within the chamber of the ship."

And when all had eaten, and were refreshed, and as the horns went round, Lugad being seated on high, near unto the king, Marcad said unto him,

"Let Lugad, if it be pleasing to him, relate the tale of Ith."

Whereupon Lugad stood up, and spoke aloud, saying,

"Children of Ib-er, Gaal of Sciôt, hear of Ith, the son of Bille, the brother of Go-lam;

"Ith saw and felt the affliction of Gael-ag; Ith preferred dangers to tribute, death to slavery; did he not move on the surface of the vast deep, to a strange land, to prepare the way for the children of the Gaal, where they may live, their ears free from the sound of the voice of a master.

And we passed along towards the fingers of Baal, till we saw Breotan we kept clear of Scaoilead; into Casad-tir-eider we entered into.

And on the eighth day from the day whereon we did cease to see Dunmianac, we did espy the land we looked for, and we did steer with the land on the left of us, as we moved for four days and nights, then did the waters of the streams bear us to the shore.

And Ith did set one-third of our company to guard the ships, with the rest did he adventure into the country, and there are two distinct Gael thereon, speaking with different tongues, and we did come to know that those who are the most, are servants unto those who are the least—moreover, that the mas-

ters are evil in the minds of the servants—and the servants are inclined towards us—they seemed in joy at our coming, for they are in bondage.

And Ith enquired for the chief, and after two days, came some to conduct us to his presence.

And Ith called for counsel, and it was said,—Why go farther; have we not seen enough?—let us to our brethren, and return with them and win the land.

But Ith said, "Nay; may it not be said we were affeared.—Let Gol return to the ships, and if we do not succeed, then Gol speed thou to Gael-ag, and repeat in Marcad's ear the words of Ith: "Let Marcad lead the children of Iber hitherward, here raise up the tents of the Gael"—but Gol entreated to go on, howbeit, he spoke in vain.

And we passed along for one day warily, and we spent the night cautiously.

And on the morrow Ith made those who conducted us to know, that he would abide where he was, till the coming of the chief, and for two days only, and we tarried there.

And on the second day half spent, we espied a multitude coming towards us, and as they drew nigher unto us, we saw huge clubs in their hands—no slings, nor bows had they, nor sharp weapons for war—and we moved to meet them, notwithstanding their numbers; the men were fair to look upon, yea very fair.

And oftentimes did they mention the name of Dan-ba and of Dan-an; and the masters did beat the servants under their feet, in our presence, calling them Cloden.

Long time had not passed till we saw bands gathering round about, and some hasting between us and the ships.—When Ith said, "Let the backward way be kept clear, we be too few."

Now the men of the land raised a loud shout, and flung stones at us with great force, then we did uncase our bows, and draw Cran Tubail forth.

The Gaal were in streights, and we did move our forces towards the multitude; and thus for three days, when our brethren led by Gol, save nine left with the ships, came towards, clearing the way, fell in the combat, and lay where they fell. Moreover Ith my father fell, but not into the arms of death on that day, and we bore him to his ship.

And I Lugad did not enter my ship, I remained with my father, and not long while

while before he ceased, he did call me to him, and he said,

"Let Marcad lead the Gael to the land of woods, the servants will be helping unto them to win the land. Let not Baal in his next day's rest, look down on the griefs of Iber in Gael-ag."

And these were the last words of Ith the son of Bille, the brother of Go-lam the renowned, himself renowned also.

And when Lugad had made an end, all repeated their oath to have vengeance for Ith's blood, and all besought Marcad to speed their departure.

Now preparations are made through Gael-ag, and what time Baal entered the threshold of the mansion of his blessed fire, behold on shipboard the clann of Breo-ccean Gaal of Sciôt, of Iber, Nomades, Ogeageis, the memorial of our race, of those who had escaped the captivity of Sru, and the wrath of Baal taking their departure from Gael-ag perhaps for ever, having sojourned here, four hundred and four score and four rings precisely.

Baal was favourable until the host came within sight of the land of their vengeance. Then did he send forth his messengers of air; and they brake the vessels, and scattered them on every side: twelve ships did the servants of the anger of Baal bury beneath the waves of the vast deep.

On that day was Colba overborne at the mouth of a river of the land.

On that day perished Cier within the jaws of an inlet of the sea at the extremity of the world of land.

Howbeit the remainder of the host with difficulty reached the shore with Marcad, Iolar, and Blat, sons of the hero, and Lugad the son of Ith, and the children of Marcad and Iolar, and Er son of Cier, he would abide with the sons of Marcad, his companions in Gaelag.

And Marcad bad, "Let three men abide with each ship, and let all the women tarry with them, whiles their brethren go to take vengeance for Ith's blood, and win the land; and the cloth was spread to take the lots of those to stay behind.

When all the men, and all the women cried aloud, "Let none be left, let all die together, or all have glory of those who shed Ith's blood!" They would not be intreated.

And the Gaal were gathered together, and the men of the land assembled, more in number than the Gaal, one score for one.

And the battle endured not long, when bands of the servants passed over unto us, and the masters fled.

And on the next day the battle was renewed, and the men of the land were overthrown: the clubs availed not, the servants stung the masters sorely.

And on the third day, the chiefs of the land did send messengers unto Marcad; and the messengers had their clubs behind them, and both their arms on their breasts, token of peace.

Now it happened that men of the Gaal, in a ship of Fencid, on their way from Breotan to Gaelag, driven from its course, was broken here eight rings gone by; these did know the speech of the Danan.

These did the Danan bring before Marcad; and when their joy had abated in some sort, for seeing the face of their brethren, they did speak in the speech now of one, now of another; and after this manner was the covenant made sure between the chiefs of Iber, and the chiefs of the land aforetime.

And the chiefs of the land said, "Ye be mightier than we through the falsehood of Cloden, the Danan will not be in subjection nor yet under tribute to thee. We will move to the far side of the old river, and dwell between the waters thereof, and the waves of the vast sea. We will not pass over to this side of the river to thy people, nor must thy people pass over to us. Moreover Cloden is in thy hand; do unto them as seemeth good to thee; if ye deal kindly by them, and put thy trust in them, look to it.

On that day, the second day after Baal had entered into the second chamber of his house Sgith, was the covenant made.

And the Danan did set up a large stone on the spot, where the covenant was made; and I Ordac have set down words on the chronicles of the Gaal, to remain for ever.

And Marcad said, "Let this place be called Mag-mor-tiomna," and all said, "Yea."

Now peace abideth. The Danan are in motion towards the country of the covenant. Firgneat flock around the Gaal.

The tents of Marcad are raised up on Magmortiomna; and the tents of Iber stand about the tents of the chief; for Marcad saith, "I were well that the Gaal rest together, till the Danan pass the waters."

Firgneat are helping unto us in all things;

things; and the Gaal cast on this land in the days of Golam—are with their brethren.

And they do tell of Cloden; they are Firgneat, Cegail, born of the elements of this land.

And the Danan did hither come from beneath the fingers of Baal, ten score and eleven knots now passed; and they did overbear Firgneat, and hold them in bondage with rigour.

Neither did ever bear of Baal.

Now what time we had sojourned three moons on Magmortionna, Marcad called to him all the children of Iber; and the chiefs did hold talk in the presence of the Gaal; and he did rise in the midst, and said,

"The land is now free for the foot of the children of Iber. What, if it were explored, none knoweth the limits thereof? After what manner shall we go forth? The Danan may prove false. Shall we separate, or shall we move together? Thin is our host by the power of Baal.

"Sru was but his messenger, as drought and pestilence; Golam the renowned, though mighty, could not stand against the mightier Baal; therefore is our host thin.

"Colba is beneath the waters of the deep unburied.

"Cier can no more hear the sound of Marcad's voice. Oh, that he could!—Cier lieth under his heap; his death-song chaunted; his war-song raised. Who, but Baal, could overthrow Cier the magnanimous? What availeth man against the Almighty." And Marcad wept; and all the host lifted up their voice, and cried. After awhile, Marcad said, "If Blat would speak."

And Blat said, "What, if all move together?"

And Marcad said, "What saith Iolar?"

And Iolar said, "What, if three parts be made of the Gaal, and that one part move nigh unto their brethren, keeping a course all to the same point?"

The words of Iolar being good, preparations were made; and what time Baal entered the threshold of his house Tirim, the congregation were in motion.

And Marcad went out before the host, with one third towards the south; and Blat moved on the right of Marcad; and Iolar took his course on the right of Blat.

And the Olam and the priests, the bards, and the minstrels, were divided amongst the chiefs; and the women and

children were with their Clann; and Firgneat were with us, conducting the Gaal through the passages of the land.

And Er the son of Cier was in the hand of Marcad; yea, before the sons of Marcad, as he went, the step of the warrior shortened e'en to the pacing of the lad.

And we journeyed, Marcad having the waters of the great sea on his left close by, until we met water of rivers unfordable; then artificers of the Gaal constructed boats, for Marcad caused all the vessels to be burned on which the host were conveyed from Gaclag to this land.

And thus did we proceed, till we saw from the summit of mountains, the extremity of the world of land.

Then we changed our course descending into the planes beneath, till we reached the streams of the waters, wherein perished Cier the magnanimous; and Marcad would go, to look upon the heap, beneath which lieth the brother of his soul, that was, O grief! and go he did, taking with him a few in his company.

And as we entered into that land, did we not see of Gaal of Iber, abiding thereon? we did hear them speak in the tongue of the Gaal in great part; and they did tell of strange things confusedly; but they know not of Gaclag, nor Dunmianac, nor much of aught: these did minister unto us, to the fulness of their little means.

And we did stand upon the extremity of the world of land, save the small portion separated therefrom, whereon is raised the heap of Cier, in the midst of the waters of the roaring sea, on which the raging winds did not suffer Marcad now to pass.

Therefore did we raise our eyes toward, our hands outstretched, tears flowing from the eyes of the boy Er; yea, and of all; and Marcad said, with faltering voice,

"May the spirit of Cier, the son of the hero, be immortal!" and he added, moreover, "Let this river be called the river of Iber, for the times to come, in memory of this son of Iber, the glory of the race."

And we returned to our brethren, and they would go also to see the heap of Cier, but Marcad stayed them.

And the host moved forward till we reached the waters of Seanamhan, beyond which are the lands of the Danan; and we kept the river on the left of us,

nor departed Marcad therefrom, till we reached the fountain thereof.

Then we moved towards the sun's going, till we touched upon the world of waters, and we did hear of a truth, "the waves of the vast sea do wash the margin of the land, through all the course from the going forth of the waters of Seanamhan, to the very spot whereon ye stand."

Then we moved northward; the ocean on our left very near, till our foot was stayed by ocean's self.

Then changing our course towards the sun's rising, the waters of open sea or of salt lakes on our left, we advanced till our step was arrested at the extreme of land again; then we did turn our faces towards the strength of Baal.

And, as Baal was entering the threshold of the mansion of his blessed fire, the whole host did move into Magmortiomna, for Marcad loitered, that we may return to the spot, whence we did take our departure, at that set time.

And now it was manifest, that the land was encompassed with the waters of the mighty sea on every side—an island.

For nine days after, the Gaal abided in repose: then Marcad assembled the congregation, and he stood up in the midst, and said,

"When our fathers came from Iber unto a strange land, did they not give names to their dwellings, the hills and planes, the waters of the rivers; yea, the waves of the sea itself; to preserve the memory of their former place, that the name of Er should ne'er be lost, whilst time shall endure.

"What, if this land, standing alone, an island, be called Eri for the times to come?

"The Gaal of Sciôt of Iber, Nomades, Oigeageis, we are, and ever shall be, go where we will, fare as we may.

"For myself, I would, that those of my loins were called the race of Iber, so long as they endure.

"Words have passed to my ear, 'This land is large, too large for one chief; the chiefs did choose Marcad in the place of his father to rule in Gaclag. Gaclag is not Eri.' These words are true.

"What, then, if the chiefs speak their free thoughts, concerning these things; if any have taken thought to utterance—if not. What, if we forbear for other nine days, and in time that passeth between think, and then hold talk."

And it was so.

LAWS OF ERI.

Now Baal had entered the threshold of his house Iarsgith, freshly,

When Eocaid sent forth messengers with letters, saying,

"Let the kings, princes, and nobles of the Gaal in Eri, and chiefs of the Olam, and heads of the people, meet Erimionn in the high chamber of Teacmor, on Tobrad, what time the fires shall be lighted on the summits of the plains of Eri.

And now as Baal was moving into Fluicim, the fires blazing on the summits of the land, the glory of Eri shined on Tobrad.

And all the heralds raised their voices aloud, and the gates of the high chamber of Teacmor opened, and Erimionn, and the kings of Mumain and Gaclen, and the princes and nobles and the chiefs of the Olam, and heads of the people of the nations of the Gaal of Eri entered.

And the throne was set in the middle of the chamber, one step higher than the floor thereof.

And a table stood on the floor beneath the throne, and the king of Mumain, of the race of Iber, took his seat opposite to the table, on the right side of the throne.

And the king of Gaclen, of the race of Iolar, took his seat opposite to the table, his face towards the throne.

And the seat of the king of Ullad of the race of Er, opposite to the table on the left side of the throne was empty. Did not the king of Ullad sit on the throne Erimionn?

And the chief secretary of Eri sat between the throne and the table, close thereunto:

And the chief secretary of Mumain sat between the king of Mumain and the table.

And the chief secretary of Gaclen sat between the king of Gaclen and the table.

And the chief secretary of Ullad sat between the seat of the king of Ullad and the table.

And the princes of the race of Iber, the first-born of the hero, and the princes of Ith, sat on the right and left of the king of Mumain.

And the princes of the race of Iolar, sat on the right and left of the king of Gaclen.

And the princes of the race of Er sat on the right and left of the seat of the king of Ullad.

And the nobles sat behind the princes of the nation, to which they belonged.

And

And the Olam, and the heads of the people, sat behind the nobles of their lands.

And on the table in the midst were the rolls of other times closed, and the writings of Eolus, and the chronicles of the Gaal.

And rolls open to receive the words of the days as they pass, for the eye of the children of the land that are to come.

And as Erimionn rose from the throne, and was about to speak, an uproar was raised about Teacmor, and it was told within, that men armed stood on Tobrad.

And Eocaid loosed the girdle, and opened the clasp of his mantle, and he said,

"When the laws of Eri are the theme, let the sword remain in his scabbard, the bow in his case, and Cran Tubail be hung up in the tents of the Gaal.

"Reason is the parent of Justice; Justice is the handmaid of the laws; arms are instruments of the passions of man.

"Behold Erimionn beareth not the sword in the habitation of the laws.

"Heralds, say without—

"Let those who are armed depart every man to his tent; and those who stand on Tobrad abide in peace."

And it was so.

And Erimionn rose again, and he said,

"Four rings have been completed since Eocaid the son of Fiaca hath been chosen to sit on the seat of the chief in Ullad; since which time the kings, the princes of the race, and chiefs of the Gaal, have placed him even here, the tie and knot of the cincture that is to bind together the affections of all the children of the land;

"That he may do somewhat to justify their thoughts of him, he hath laboured without ceasing to give the laws a form, and strength moreover to protect the children of Eri from violence and oppression.

"It is known unto you, that the Cruimtear have feigned nine laws from Baal.

"The foundation laid in deceit, the work hath been raised by imposture, and propped up by ignorance on this side, and by fear on that side thereof.

"When I have inquired of the priests that now be, for the ground of the fancy of some, of the artifice of others, the answer of one and of all hath been—

"The many of the race are poor, they are ignorant, their ways are perverse; they have the desire of all men, to live

at ease, and passions exciting them to avarice, yea, and to the possession of power.

"If they be not controlled by laws other than the work of their fellow man, those who have riches and dominion will hold both doubtfully. Where ignorance prevailleth, fear alone inspireth awe and respect.

"Will the kings, and princes, and nobles, surrender their flocks, and herds, and masterdom, to the multitude?

"Is it not wiser and better far, that the king reverence the priests? so may the servants of Baal keep the minds of the Gaal in obedience to the king.

"Then will the king enjoy in peace his large authority, and the priest his small portion of the land.

"Such and such like hath been the saying of the priests.

"When I have inquired of them, What if the pains taken by the priests to make men ignorant, and to keep their minds in the ways of falsehood, were bestowed by the Olam to instruct them in the lessons of wisdom, in the words of truth?

"Still hath the answer of the priests been—

"Let the Olam speak unto the poor; and all their lessons of knowledge and of wisdom will but create in their minds a hunger for riches, a thirst for dominion, not to be allayed nor quenched till satisfied in both.

"So saith the Cruimtear; nevertheless my opinion differeth from the fancy or the artifice of the priest:

"Therefore,

"What if five of the laws of the olden time only be retained to stand on the roll, at the head of the laws of Eri, not deceitfully, as commands from Baal, according to the words of the priests, but openly, laws of the land, by consent of all the children thereof?

"Baal spake not to Astor.

"It is the voice of Reason that crieth aloud,

"Let not man slay his fellow.

"Baal spake not to Lamas.

"It is Justice that directeth,

"Let not man take of the belongings of another privately.

"Baal held not converse with Soth.

"It is the spirit of Truth that saith,

"Let not the lips utter what the mind knoweth to be false.

"Baal opened not his mouth to Al.

"It is the gentle voice of tender Pity that whispereth,

"Man, be merciful,

"Baal

"Baal talked not with Sear.

"It is the tongue of Wisdom that teacheth,

"Let man do even as he would be done by.

"What if these five laws stand laws of Eri?"

And all said, "Yea."

And Erimionn raised his voice, and said,

"When we were together aforetime, I did say unto the assembly then—

"The desire of the mind of Eocaid is towards peace, and the laws of peace continually:

"True; we have laws from our fathers, the work of the chiefs; therefore they restrain not their passions, no punishment following their transgressions.

"Fences there are round about the Gaal on every side; the Gaal respect them through fear, nothing from love.

"Moreover, the words of the laws from the mouths of our great fathers to the ears of our fathers, and so to us, are loosed and made fast, as the justicer pleaseth, without the consent of the Cluastig.

"Whilst the words are guarded as though they were the property of the judge, and by whom set forth no one can render account.

"Therefore, that the laws should be made sure to curb violence, and to punish the doer of wrong, be he chief, be he of the Gaal, and that the justicers also be brought within the rule of number and authority;

"What if the number of the justicers in each of the nations of the Gaal in Eri be twice nine justicers; one in the land of each Tanaisteas, and one chief judge to abide nigh unto the king in each of the nations, and one other justicer moreover to sit nigh unto this Teacmor?"

And all said, "Yea."

And Erimionn said,

"It is known unto us, that heretofore the justicers have taken on them to hear and to determine, the Cluastig not called;

"What if the justicer be silent; till the Cluastig say aloud, yea, or nay; and if nine Cluastig be present, they do all say yea, or they do all say nay.

"And if twice nine, or more, do stand round about the seat of the justicer, the thing inquired of shall be as the greater number shall say.

"And the justicer open not his lips till the hands be counted; then the

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justicer shall spread out the roll of the laws, and he shall say aloud, in the hearing of all the Cluastig, and of him complained against, the words thereon."

And all said, "yea."

And Erimionn said,

"If the Cluastig say, the man did slay his fellow with evil mind,

"What if the judge read aloud,

"Let the slayer of man be swept alive out of sight into the bowels of the earth, no trace of him remaining."

And all said, "yea."

And Erimionn said,

"If one hath declared other than the truth before the justicer and the Cluastig, and the falsehood be made manifest.

"Let the false one suffer in like sort, as by his words another had been troubled; and so in all cases whatsoever."

And all said, "yea."

And Erimionn said,

"If one taketh by stealth ought of another, and the taking be proved,

"Let the evil-doer restore two-fold, and be put to shame in the sight of the children of the land; and if the transgressor cannot restore, the clan make good the loss, and the evil-doer bear his own shame."

And all said, "yea."

And Eocaid, still standing, raised his voice, and said,

"What if words be set down on the roll of the laws?

"Let not the Gaal of Sciota of Iber go forth of Eri to waste the lands of others: and should the Gaal of strange nations enter the land of the children of Iber to vex them, let the warriors be of one mind, and as one arm, to drive the foreigner into the sea, or give them graves in Eri, unless they become subjected."

And all shouted "Eri," nine times.

And Erimionn said,

"Eri is the birth-right of all the children of the land; the king hath his portion, the prince, the nobles, each hath his portion thereof; the Olam, the priests, the bards, and the minstrels, have their portions.

"And the Gaal by their clan have their portions thereof.

"From the earth man deriveth sustenance whereby to live. Hath any increased his store of cattle, or of stuff, or of arms? Let his words as to these, and these like, stand; of his portion of the land none can have dominion longer than he doth abide thereon, the children

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of his loins, and the mother of the children shall dwell thereon, till partition made; then let not the woman who bore, nor the damsels who are to bring forth, be forgotten; are not all the race born of woman?

"Sons of Eri, honour and respect thy father.

"Love, honour, and respect, and tenderly cherish all the days of thy life the mother who bore, and suckled, and reared thee up. Let thy hands minister unto her in all her necessities; let thy eye never look upon thy mother but in thanks and gentleness.

"Sons of Eri,

"Let the strength of thy arms protect the weakness of the daughters of the land.

"What if Eri lay under the rules of Tainistact, as aforetime?"

And it was so.

And Erimionn said,

"What if words be set down as laws of the Gaal in Eri, according to your will now expressed?"

And all said, "Yea."

And the chief secretary of Eri read aloud,

"O man, shed not the blood of thy kind maliciously.

"Take not thou aught belonging to another, covertly.

"Let not thy lips speak falsely to the injury of another.

"Have mercy on every living being; be merciful.

"Do thou unto others as you would wish others would do unto thee. This is just and proper.

"Shall one kill another treacherously, let him be dragged on the ground and

cast beneath the surface of the earth without memorial.

"Shall one take privately the property of another, let him pay Eri twice the value of the thing taken, and set apart. Is he not able to pay, hath he absconded from the land of his dwelling, let the family pay, but let the transgressor bear his own shame.

"Shall one have spoken falsely of another, let the false one suffer in the like manner as he designed against the other, and let the like be observed in all cases for ever.

"Let not the Gaal of Sciota of Iber go forth of Eri to trouble another land, and if another race shall enter the land of the children of Iber, to oppress them without cause, let the warriors be of one mind, and as one arm to drive them into the sea, or give them graves in Eri, unless they become subjected.

"Let the custom of Tainistact abide."

And it was right and good.

And the assembly went forth, and the doors of the high chamber were closed.

And Eocaid suffered not any one to depart whilst Baal abided in his house Fliticim.

The song and the harp, and dance, and tales of other times, and sports ceased not.

And after one moon all took their departure from Tobrad, save Ardri, he dwelleth thereon.

*** We have been enabled, with the consent of Mr. O'Connor, to give place to the fac-simile of the Laws, as given in the work itself; and we trust its value will justify the expence, and gratify our readers.

END OF THE FIFTY-THIRD VOLUME.

PLATE.—FAC-SIMILE OF THE LAWS OF ERI to face page 646.

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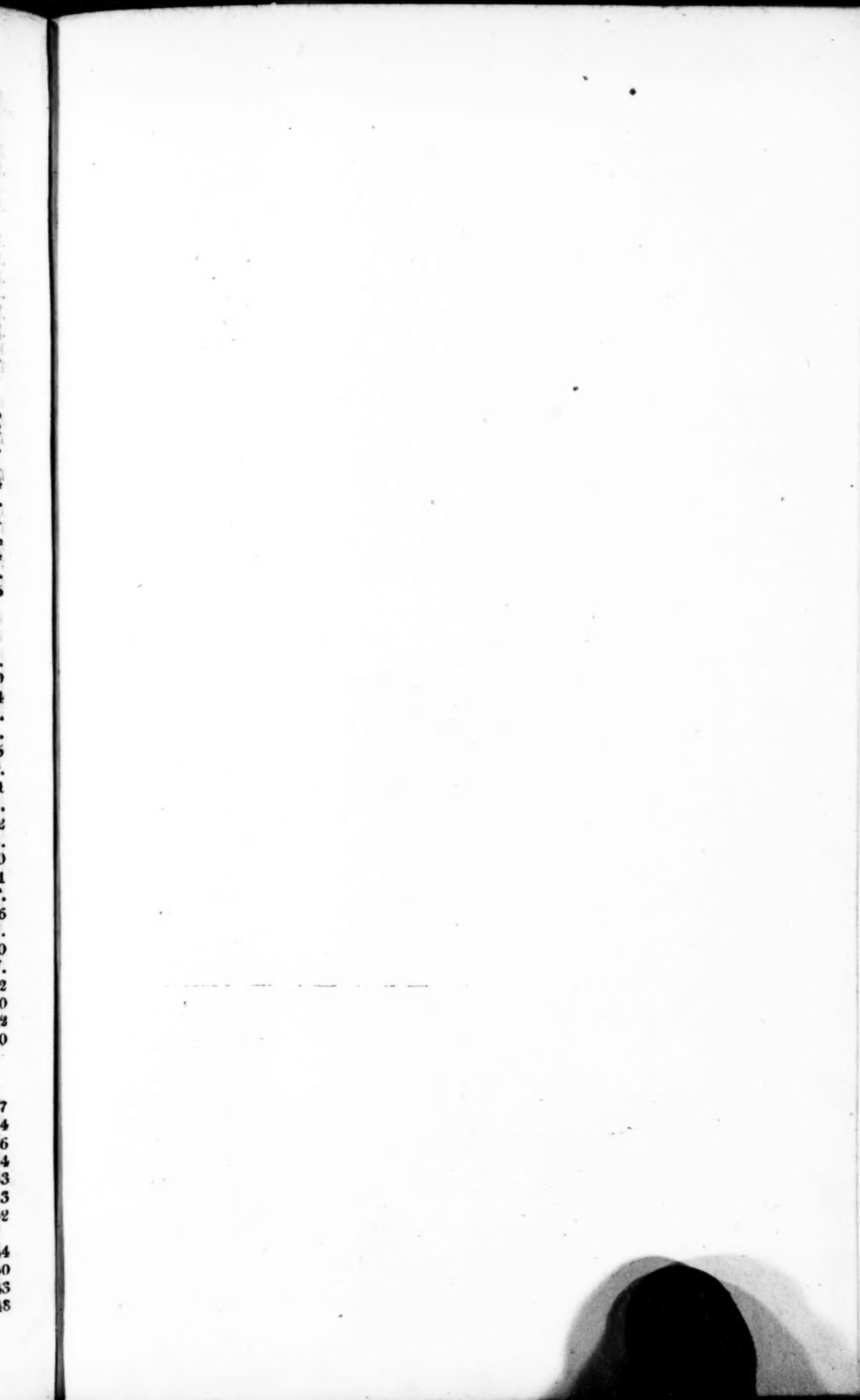
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